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CIS Secretary Marks Commonwealth's Anniversary

LD0712183193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk December 7 BELINFORM-TASS—Two years after the leaders of the former Soviet republics signed an agreement on forming the Commonwealth of Independent States and then the Almaty declaration, experience confirms the correctness of their choice - the formation of the commonwealth prevented the chaotic disintegration of the Soviet Union with unpredictable consequences for the former country and the world. The former Soviet countries opted for a path of peaceful evolution, a path of dialogue and talks leading towards a normal life and integration in the civilized international community, the executive secretary of the Commonwealth of Independent States Ivan Korotchenya told BELINFORM.

The creation of a commonwealth enable its components republics to begin, almost painlessly, democratic reforms as newly sovereign countries. Of course, two years is a brief period of time, too short for the commonwealth to overcome the inherited economic and political crisis, stem the collapse of the economy and the worsening of the living standards of its citizens. But the two-year period proved a sufficiently long period to break with the past. The commonwealth is a reality, it continues to evolve and gain strength in defiance of numerous pessimistic forecasts, Korotchenya said.

Critics of the Commonwealth of Independent States often point fingers at the failure to fulfill the broadcast promises of the initial agreements, the short-lived existence of the single border guard force and allied armed forces, the single economic space and the single currency, he said. But these are also fruit of the irreversible process of acquisition of real sovereignty and concomitant attributes of independence and own statehood. The establishment of new borders, the setting up of customs services, own armed forces and national currencies are all parts of the same process, which continues and cannot be halted. In this, too, a positive role of the Commonwealth of Independent States is obvious - evolution without violence and revolutions prevails in the development of newly-free countries. As concerns the agreements and their basic principles, they will be implemented in due time. The process of integration can gather pace only after the commonwealth member-states gain a form footing as politically and economically independent states, Korotchenya said.

He described as a qualitatively new stage in the life of the commonwealth what began with the signing by the member countries earlier this year of a most significant document—the charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States which formed the legal framework of the commonwealth. Another significant event in the two-year history of the CIS and of this year was the recent signing of an agreement on the creation of an economic union. This is evidence enough that the completion of the formation of own economic structures by separate members of the commonwealth and their transition to market relations imparted an impulse to the search for new forms and links in their interaction. The adoption of new members - Azerbaijan and Georgia - is further testimony to the member-countries' desire to strengthen the community.

One of the problems that awaits solution which will further boost the development of a genuine Commonwealth of Independent States is the problem of implementing multilateral agreements. This problem prompted the creation of a coordinating and consultative committee. This committee is designed as a body in which real rights and potential is vested to organize implementation of the adopted accords and control the process, while steering the course of day-to-day cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere. Many problems will be resolved as the committee gets going.

The two-year anniversary of the commonwealth signifies the preservation of a union of independent states, their desire for peace and concord, for polling efforts in improving the living standards in all component parts. Out task is to help this process with all our might, Korotchenya stressed.

Republican Leaders Comment

LD0812114793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1022 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—"Today, two years after the conclusion of the Viskuli agreement and the Almaty declaration, life has confirmed the correctness of the steps taken then by the leaders of the former Soviet republics. The Commonwealth of Independent States formation had prevented a chaotic disintegration of the USSR with all the attendant consequences, affecting both the Soviet Union and the entire world. It gave the former 'fraternal' republics the last chance to switch over to normal life by peaceful means, through negotiations, and to join the civilised world," CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya stated in Minsk in connection with the second anniversary of the CIS, which is being marked today.

Korotchenya believes that the formation of the Commonwealth had allowed its subjects to embark almost painlessly upon the road of democratic reforms as new sovereign states. Of course, two years is quite a short period. Unfortunately, the CIS was unable to surmount during this time the inherited economic and political crisis, to check the economic disintegration and stem the deterioration of the living standards.

"Promotion of relations with CIS nations is and will always be among the key goals of the Russian Government's efforts," ITAR-TASS was told here by Vice-Premier of the Russian Government Aleksandr Shokhin.

Shokhin regards as a positive aspect of the Commonwealth's life the fact that "we were able to divorce our monetary systems in a civilised way without any harm to the Russian economy". However, nothing could so far be done to lay the foundation for a payments union among

the CIS nations. "This," according to the vice-premier, "negatively affects not only the citizens of our country, but interferes with the creation of a mechanism for the coexistence of national currencies, as well as a mechanism for establishing their exchange rates."

In the meantime, reports from Almaty indicate that on the eve of the CIS anniversary Kazakhstan had fulfilled all its intergovernmental agreements on grain sales concluded for 1993. It has shipped to CIS countries more than 8.2 million tonnes of grain, topping the initially agreed figure by slightly more than one million tonnes. The Russian Federation has purchased more than 50 per cent of this amount.

"The creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States has definitely played its role in the civilised separation and formation of new independent states on the territory of the former USSR, has contributed to their civilised divorce," Vice-Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, member of the CIS Coordination-Consultative Council Rustam Mirzoyev said, assessing the agreement on the Commonwealth. He believes that the creation of the Tajikistan aid fund was a basically important event in the life of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Some of its subsidies will be spent on the accommodation and social adaptation of Tajik refugees and forced migrants, including Russian-speakers, who fled from the country during the fighting there.

Turkmenistan politicians believe that the CIS should not include only its co-founders. Turkmenistan holds that there is enough place in it for the Baltic states and other nations that might deem it necessary to join the new historic alignment on the basis of the eternal principle of equality and civilised partnership. During the CIS meeting in Ashgabat, scheduled for December, Turkmenistan plans to table several new initiatives which, according to statements by its official representatives, should be regarded "in the context of steps to strengthen the Commonwealth on the basis of sovereign equality within the system of international relations, and also on the basis of common history and the aggregate political, economic and human potential".

Oil Debts to Russia Seen Promoting Integration

MK0712115093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Konstantin Smirnov report under the "CIS Raw Materials Problems" rubric: "Oil Debts Help Economic Integration"]

[Text] Oil problems contribute to setting up multinational corporations in the CIS countries much better than any documents on economic cooperation. This was confirmed once more by talks between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Vyacheslav Kebich last week in Valday (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported them in its Saturday issue) and also by the content of Russian-Ukrainian negotiations on energy debts that have been postponed a number of times. Similarly, the situation in the coal and metallurgy industries of the CIS countries will be more stable if enterprises are cross-converted into joint-stock companies, which is at what the activity of the Eurasian Association of Coal and Metal (EACM) is aimed. Parliaments of the EACM member countries, however, have so far failed to ratify the agreement on setting it up. The Russian president has moved to rectify the situation by issuing a directive on the provisional plan for the association's operation. Yesterday, it was released for official distribution.

According to unofficial reports, during the Valday meeting the prime ministers discussed the upcoming merger of the two countries' monetary systems. One argument in favor of reducing the ruble zone to "a union of three"—Russia, Belarus, and Tajikistan (which effectively has no other choice)—is that Belarus has a reputation of a reliable payer and, hence, receives Russian credits on beneficial terms: payments for 1993 credits (70 billion rubles) will be due only in the year 2001. If we recall, however, that fairly recently Russia preferred the protection of its own currency to the merger of monetary systems and that the future lineup of the Russian cabinet is yet unclear, the future of the ruble zone that is currently being resuscitated begins to look questionable. Another Valday agreement, however, is closer to implementation. Belarus is ready to cede Russia the controlling blocks of shares of the republic's two largest oil-refineries—Mozyrskiy and Polotskiy—toward repaying debts for Russian energy resources by setting up a joint-stock company that would bring together oil and gas producers from Tyumen and Belarusian oil refineries. Another option for creating a Russian-Belarusian multinational is to give Russia control over the oil pipeline passing through Belarusian territory.

That it is precisely the repayment of debts, of all CIS economic realities, that lays the groundwork for setting up multinationals was confirmed by the agenda of Russian-Ukrainian talks on oil deliveries for next year. Ukraine has requested that it be given 30 million tonnes, including 17 million to satisfy state requirements. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's promise to repay the country's oil debts to Russia by 15 November 1993 has remained unfulfilled. This has promoted an exploration of ways of Russian participation in the transformation of Ukrainian oil sector enterprises into joint-stock companies. The debt-for-equity swap has yet another element that accelerates integration—it gives a boost to economic reform in Russia's CIS partners.

CIS bodies—as a matter of fact, decisions by the EACM, which was created by heads of state of the CIS countries, are binding on members—have to make a choice between purely interstate activity and efforts to facilitate actual capital flow within CIS countries. The EACM's effectiveness will depend on how far the association will push through the cross-conversion of coal and metallurgy enterprises into joint-stock companies in countries that are parties to the agreement.

Russian Minister Reports on Debts

LD0812121093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] The indebtedness of countries of the near abroad to Russian suppliers of oil amounts to 366 billion rubles [R], Russia's Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik reported at a session of the Council of Ministers Commission for Operational Questions. Of this sum, R150 billion is owed by Kazakhstan. Two other major nonpayers are Ukraine and Belarus. Shafranik proposed that the government immediately sign an agreement with Kazakhstan on the mutual settling of accounts. He pointed out that Russia cannot unilaterally stop supplies of oil to Kazakhstan because this copuld lead to a reciprocal stopping of supplies of coal from the Ekibastuz coalfield. He said Ekibastuz is currently providing Russia with 40 million metric tonnes of coal.

The minister warned that Ukraine and Belarus will not be able in the foreseeable future to settle accounts with Russia for the oil they have received and he suggested that the debts of the Ukrainian and Belarusian consumers be transferred to the state debts of those republics.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 8 Dec

LD0812071793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0612 GMT 8 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) on President Boris Yeltsin's tour of the north Caucasus:

"The president's trip to one of Russia's flashpoints on the eve of a referendum on the draft new Constitution of the Russian Federation and elections to the Federal Assembly, although it bore some traits of an 'election-campaign event', was in point of fact aimed at achieving a lasting and fundamental change of the situation in the north Caucasus. It seems, there have appeared the first grounds to answer in the affirmative the question as to whether a 'Caucasian safety belt' should or should not be established".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) considers it as the main result of President Yeltsin's meeting in Nalchik with north Caucasian region leaders the adoption of a joint statement which sets out the sides' intention to press for a settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict on the basis of reconciliation.

The newspaper quotes Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Federal and Ethnic Affairs, who describes it as the main point in the statement "the Ingush side's renunciation of territorial claims on part of North Ossetia's Prigorodny District and the Ossetian side's reversal of the decision that it is impossible for Ossets and Ingushes to live side by side on the territory of the republic".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA quotes the president as saying that the Chechen republic remains part of the Russian Federation and that there can be no question of any kind of its sovereignty outside Russia. The newspaper also draws attention to the president's decision to issue a decree after the elections, on December 13, on the return of refugees to Prigorodny District of North Ossetia.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the second anniversary of the signing of the agremeent in Minsk by the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine on the establishment of a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

"After December 8, 1991, when an agreement on the abolition of the Soviet Union was signed in the Belarusian town of Viskuli, the hunting fame of Belovezhskaya Pushcha drew level with political one". Belovezhskaya Pushcha (Bialowieza Forest) is a major hunting ground notable for abundant game which icludes boar, aurochs, deer.

The newspaper likens the dismantling of the Soviet Union in December 1991 to 'the hunting of a beast' during a 'December hunt"'.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the same subject:

"The post-union space has been preserved, with the Russian Federation managing to retain the role of the leading power capable of not only persuading others but also of dictating its will if necessary".

The newspaper points out that the CIS territory has expanded over the past year to concide with the boundaries of the Soviet Union. However, "if Russia fails to convince the other ex-soviet republics that its intentions have a logical boundary and that its pressure will not spread beyond mutually acceptable limits, next year may well become a period of the conversion of the CIS into an association of integrated foes."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comes out in support of the Russian president's decree to draft final-year students of primary and secondary vocational establishments for military service.

"About half a million active-duty servicemen will soon be transferred to the reserve. [Taking] the already existing undermanning into account, the Army and Navy will have a shortfall of more than one million men".

"The Armed Forces' manning status will shrink to 40 percent, that of interior- and security-ministry personnel—to 45 percent, and that of land forces to 20 percent and lower".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, touching upon the Russian president's visit to Brussels, beginning on Wednesday [8 December], points out that the forthcoming initialing of an agreement on partnership and cooperation will sum up the

results of eight rounds of intensive talks, during which a consolidated text of the document was prepared for the first time.

The newspaper notes that the upcoming meeting between the leaders of the 12 countries and the Russian president in Brussels is necessary, since by putting their signatures to a joint declaration, participants of the meeting will lay foundation for a "civilised long-term cooperation between Russia and the European communities on basically new conditions which take into account their interests and accord with present-day realities".

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on President Yeltsin's meeting with North Caucasian region leaders in Nalchik. The newspaper runs a headline which quotes Yeltsin as saying that agreement to stabilize relations between Ingushetia and North Ossetia was reached during the meeting.

Yeltsin Prepares for Visit to Brussels

Shokhin Previews Talks

PM0812101993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Russia Seeks Equal Partnership With West, and First Step Toward That Is To Be Taken in Brussels"]

[Excerpts] President Yeltsin is coming to Brussels 8 December at the invitation of Albert II, King of the Belgians; Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, incumbent president of the European Union [EU]; and Jacques Delors, president of the EU Commission. The first day of the visit is to be devoted to bilateral relations with Belgium, the second to establishing relations of a fundamentally new type with the EU. [passage omitted]

"The formulated agreement on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the EU envisages a considerable improvement in our access to Western markets based on the principle of most-favored nation status and in accordance with GATT principles," Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said during an exclusive interview with IZVESTIYA the day before the presidential delegation flew off to Brussels. "The signing of the Declaration on Partnership means that the system of nonmarket institutions and all kinds of unilateral restrictive measures can no longer be used against Russia. If any sanctions are employed against Russia their introduction will always have to be preceded by consultations."

In other words, by signing the Declaration of Partnership with the EU, Russia is for the first time seeking in actual fact to fundamentally change the West's attitude toward it: equal cooperation and partnership, as with all other countries, instead of humanitarian handouts that cannot seriously help reforms.

"Fundamentally new elements are also appearing in the political dialogue with the EU," A. Shokhin went on to emphasize. "A system of permanent top-level consultations is to be introduced—two meetings a year between the Russian president and the top leadership of the EU. Permanent structures are being set up for cooperation at foreign minister level and interparliamentary level."

It took over a year to formulate the text of the agreement on partnership and cooperation and this proved an extremely difficult business. Given the tremendous technical work involved it will take another few weeks or even months to prepare the definitive text of the document for signing. That is why the formula of signing the declaration on partnership was adopted for the meeting in Brussels, a declaration which will set out the main positions of the future agreement and enshrine the sides' political will and readiness to conclude it.

Correspondents Report Agenda

LD0812094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0925 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels December 8 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia arrives in the capital of Belgium on Wednesday [8 December] for an official visit. This is the first-ever visit to Brussels by a head of the Russian state.

Immediately upon arrival, Yeltsin is to have an audience with Albert II, the king of Belgium, and will then hold talks with prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene and Foreign Minister Willy Claes. A Russo-Belgian treaty of accord and cooperation is to be signed at the close of the talks.

The second day of the visit will be exceptionally busy. It will begin with a working luncheon with NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner. The president of Russia is to hold talks with Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Communities, to make a call on the European Parliament, and is to have bilateral meetings with a number of leaders of European Union countries, who arrive in Brussels to attend a EU regular summit opening here on December 10.

The signing of a joint declaration on partnership and cooperation between the EU and Russia will be the central event of the Russian president's stay in the Belgian capital. The declaration is expected to become an important step towards putting relations between the two sides on an equal and mutually beneficial basis. The visit will end with an official banquet on behalf of the president of the EU Council, to be attended by the heads of state and governemnt of the European Union member-countries.

On the eve of Boris Yeltsin's arrival in Brussels, the EU leading circles emphasise profound interest in developing cooperation with Russia, which is viewed here as a natural partner with an immense potential.

The establishment of close political and economic contacts with Russia, analysts point out, will contribute to finally overcoming the division of Europe into two camps and will make it possible to open up new prospects for the European integration process by spreading it over, in due course, to the entire continent.

The Russian president's visit will promote headway in this respect, analysts here maintain.

Partnership Accord Dropped

PM0812102393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "Boris Yeltsin Will be Dining With Presidents and Premiers in Brussels. He Will Be Taking Breakfast With the NATO Secretary General, but an Agreement with the European Union Will Not be Signed"]

[Text] Paris—The long-awaited agreement between Russia and the European Union [EU] on partnership and cooperation will not be signed during Boris Yeltsin's two-day visit to Brussels which starts Wednesday [8 December]. The Russian President will have to make do with the signing of a joint declaration.

After the mishap with the agreement there were rumors at EU headquarters that Boris Yeltsin would be not be coming at all. It was recalled here that in June this year he canceled his meeting with the leaders of the 12 European countries in Copenhagen because the agreement was not ready. However, Russian diplomats scotched that rumor.

Nevertheless, the latest failure to sign the "historic" document is causing a certain discomfort in the capitals of the EU member states.

Why is it that this agreement is still not ready despite the loud promises of the EU leaders—after the October events in Russia—to support Yeltsin unfailingly and make concessions to Moscow on a number of questions?

In Brussels' view there are two stumbling blocks here: Yeltsin's recent decree [dekret] restricting the activity of foreign banks in Russia and Moscow's demand to open the single European market to its export of aluminum. It is also being claimed that Russia refused to move toward the wishes of France, which is seeking to defend its own nuclear industry and is demanding that the provision on the export of Russian nuclear technology be omitted from the text of the treaty.

The two sides managed to avoid the sensitive problem of human rights. The EU has the right to suspend the operation of the agreement if it considers that human rights have been violated but only after consultations with Moscow.

The Belgians proposed a statement of a general character which speaks about support for democratic reforms in Russia. Other countries prefer a more specific document. Moscow in turn is insisting that the EU confirm its intention to conclude an agreement on partnership and cooperation. It envisages in particular the opening of Western markets to Russian goods and services and the implementation of regular political consultations at a high level.

Whereas the signing of the agreement has been dropped from the program of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Brussels as the capital of the EU, everything else remains on the agenda. The heads of states and governments are expecting the Russian president at a dinner arranged for Thursday evening. But before that Yeltsin will be having breakfast with Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO. The latter is hoping to receive clarification of Moscow's attitude toward the "Partnership for Peace" program proposed by the Americans.

Yeltsin Predeparture Statement

LD0812075793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0723 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Dec—"At last Russia is acknowledged and accepted in Europe," stated Russian President Boris Yeltsin this morning at the airport before leaving for his official visit to Brussels, where he is to sign the Declaration on Partnership and Cooperation between the European Union and the Russian Federation.

Boris Yeltsin said that, for Russia, "both the economic aspect of this process and the permanent political dialogue, which is now being established between the top leadership of the European Union and Russia, are of equal importance."

The president of Russia especially emphasized the fact that for the first time since the end of the 19th century Russia is beginning to develop trade and cooperation with the whole of Europe.

Speaking about his official visit to Belgium, Boris Yeltsin emphasized that "the signature of the bilateral treaty between Belgium and Russia opens up a new phase of the comprehensive cooperation between peoples of the two countries." He said he was sure that "the visit will be an all-round success."

Touching upon the upcoming 12 December referendum on the new constitution, Boris Yeltsin said that the trip to north Caucasus "added to his optimistic feeling" that people will adopt the new main law, because Russian citizens understand that "this is the way toward reform."

Instruction on Treaty Issued

LD0812105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0845 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Dec—Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an instruction on signing a treaty on accord and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Kingdom of Belgium. The Russian president endorses the draft treaty submitted by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and permits the Foreign Ministry to make slight amendments to the draft. This was reported by the press service of the Russian president.

Yeltsin Arrives in Brussels

LD0812113693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1126 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-ITAR correspondent]

[Text] Brussels December 8 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin arrived on an official visit in Belgium on Wednesday [8 December]. In Brussels he is also to meet European Union and NATO leaders.

Churkin Interviewed on Upcoming Talks With EC

MK0812093093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko report: "Russia and Europe Should Adopt '1+12' Format"]

[Text] Preparations for a summit between Russia and the EC, which is scheduled to take place in Brussels 9 December, are virtually complete. Experts are adding the finishing touches to the text of the agreement on partnership and cooperation; it will take some more time to finalize all technical questions, however, so it will be signed during Boris Yeltsin's stay in Brussels only as a political declaration. Once the document is approved, Moscow's strategic objective will be actually to implement its economic provisions: to shift to an equal partnership in relations with the EC, which will make it possible to "earn money in an honest way" by selling Russian goods on European markets instead of waiting for loans and other types of assistance. This is what Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, a chief of the Russian delegation in talks with the EC, told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent in an exclusive interview.

According to Vitaliy Churkin, the talks, which have been under way for nearly 18 months, have not been easy. This has been caused by both objective reasons (the agreement is a complex document that covers in considerable detail the entire range of political and economic relations), and subjective ones. In particular, Mr. Churkin said, Russia's European partners were recently baffled by the edict on restricting the activity of foreign banks in Russia—the emergence of which was attributed by the deputy minister to a lack of coordination between Russian agencies. Making the new document a step forward if compared with a similar agreement between the EC and the USSR, which was signed in 1989, has not been an easy task either. This applies primarily to lifting most restrictions on Russian exports.

Despite problems in economic relations, on the political side we can presently talk about an already achieved genuinely equal partnership between Russia and the EC. The level of these relations is not inferior, and in some areas even superior, to the relationship between Moscow and Washington. This matter, Mr. Churkin believes, has not yet been sufficiently clearly realized by Russian public opinion and has not been taken into account while shaping the state's foreign political strategy. Here we should gradually shift from former perceptions of a bipolar world to the concept of "three main pillars"—Russia, the United States, and Europe. It is planned to set forth this viewpoint in the agreement as well. According to this approach, the sphere of the Russian president's international activity should broaden to add a new format—"1+12"—to "Group of Seven" summits held according to the "1+7" principle.

Shokhin Comments on Cooperation Accord With EU

LD0712204793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1609 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Report on a news conference given by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin in Moscow on 7 December; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Shokhin] "The main item in the program for President Yeltsin's visit to Brussels is signing a political declaration on partnership and cooperation between the European Union [EU] and the Russian Federation, and this declaration establishes the main accords reached in recent months at talks between Russia and the EU on a wide-ranging agreement on partnership and cooperation.

"Just recently reports have been appearing in the newspapers that the sides have been intending to initial an agreement, virtually sign an agreement, and that instead of this, there is just a declaration. I will say right away that this is not so. On 11 November this year, at a meeting between President Yeltsin, Mr. Dehaene, president of the EU Council and prime minister of Belgium, and Mr. Delors, president of the EU Commission, an accord was reached that during President Yeltsin's visit an actual declaration would be signed. The accord was aimed precisely at the blueprint for a declaration establishing the completion of the negotiating process and the conclusion of all the main issues.

"We believe that everything that had been planned has been done, and in the coming weeks and months we will be carrying the technical and formal work forward to the signing of the agreement. Taking account of the fact that we can now include in this technical work the translation of the agreement into the 12 languages of the communities, there is clearly no point in signing before spring. Then there will be the procedure for ratifying the agreement, and clearly it will not come into force before 1995, because the procedure for ratification—you probably remember Maastricht—takes several months, so you can consider that the agreement will come into force from 1995."

[Announcer] Journalists were interested in whether signing the declaration at the present moment represents a desire on the part of the president to strengthen his position prior to the elections.

[Shokhin] "I would say, on the contrary, that signing the declaration will make it possible to strengthen the image of the EU as an organization that is ready to hold constructive dialogue, and which, after many months of debate with the Russian delegation, has still managed to recognize the evident fact that Russia is a country not with a state system of trade, but a country with at least a transitional economy, and many of the provisions in the declaration and agreement stem directly from this."

[Announcer] And in conclusion, a few words about our economic diplomacy in general.

[Shokhin] "If we are talking about general assessments of the success of economic diplomacy, they are of course indisputable. I can say that the main one here is primarily the agreement on restructuring debts with the Paris Club, and the nearly completed talks with the London Club. Only one matter remains to be settled, not counting a few technical ones, like how to calculate interest on a number of types of obligations, and such a restructuring, these two agreements, can be evaluated at $37 billion. As concerns the lifting of restrictions, as this process has actively got under way this year, I think that we can expect the main economic effect in subsequent years.

"It can now also be established that political support is being stepped up for the process of bringing Russian exporters out on to world markets, and for understandable reasons this political support concerns quite delicate, sensitive goods, be they uranium, aluminum, or space launches, or trade in arms and weapons technology. A certain breakthrough is in evidence here, and I think that in the very near future we will be able to evaluate in billions of dollars the results of economic diplomacy, and in particular of the talks which were held in 1993."

Draft Agreement 'Ready'

LD0712174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The draft declaration on partnership between the European Union [EU] and Russia which President Boris Yeltsin will sign during his upcoming visit to Brussels is ready, according to Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin.

The declaration will fix the basic provisions for a large-scale partnership and cooperation agreement with the European Union which can be signed with the 12 member-states not earlier than in the spring of 1994, he told a press conference on Tuesday.

Ratification of the agreement will take time and the document "will evidently come into force not earlier than in 1995", Shokhin said.

He added that the draft declaration envisages that the issue of creating a free trade zone between Russia and the European Union is to be discussed three years after the cooperation agreement comes into force. "Thus Russia will enjoy the status of an associated member of the European Union", Shokhin said.

Problems yet to be settled in Brussels include shipments of Russian uranium and foreign bank activities in Russia, according to him.

Yeltsin Message on Ukraine Foundation Published

PM0712143393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 1

[Undated and untitled message from President B. Yeltsin to V. Fokin, president of the International Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Ties With the Russian Federation]

[Text] To V.P. Fokin, chairman of the board and president of the International Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Ties With the Russian Federation

Esteemed Vitold Pavlovich!

I learned with profound delight of the creation in Ukraine of the Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Ties With the Russian Federation.

Our peoples have lived since ancient times in friendship and very close cooperation. Today, when Russia and Ukraine are seeking new paths to the future, their cooperation is particularly essential.

I think that your foundation could do a great deal of good by pooling its efforts with the Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Cooperation With Ukraine now being set up in Russia. The community between the citizens of our countries and the development of Russian-Ukrainian economic contacts and ties can really improve people's lives.

I congratulate you and all participants in the Ukrainian Foundation on its inauguration. I wish you great success.

With profound belief in the friendship between Russia and Ukraine.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

Gaydar Comments on Ukraine's Economic Situation

LD0712223493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 7 December broadcasts a 30-minute program entitled "From the Greeks to the Varangians," an allusion to the medieval trading route connecting northern Russia with the Black Sea.

The program examines some of the socioeconomic motives that force Ukrainian residents and Crimeans to go to Russia to trade in street markets and which make it less attractive for the Russians to trade in Ukraine in the same way. The main reason is that the Russian ruble has more value than the Ukrainian coupon. The program mainly consists of interviews with people in public transport and streets and with low-level officials.

At the end of the program, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar appears in a brief interview where he states his views on the current economic situation in Ukraine, in response to a question on the decline in the living standards. Gaydar says:

"Regrettably, this decline was predicted and it was predetermined by the policy pursued in Ukraine. In Ukraine, they tried to do all that the majority in the Supreme Soviet told us to do—the people who championed tidiness and tameness in the implementation of reforms. In Ukraine, enterprises carried out mutual cancellations of debt several times; fresh funds were injected into their working capital; credits on preferential terms were generously granted; state subsidies for the agro-industrial complex grew; a fixed exchange rate of the national currency was introduced and tough measures were applied to achieve it in practice; they slowed down privatization and tried to phase this process in slowly and gradually; they are trying to defreeze prices slowly and gradually; they attempted to keep the system of massive state orders—that is, in Ukraine they did everything that we have been asked to do over the last two years.

"Of course, this cannot but sadden me. This saddens me because Ukraine is the closest and most important country to us; moreover, it is our biggest trade and economic partner. The Ukrainian economy, half-stifled by faulty economic policy, is a huge burden on the Russian economy. This means nonpayments for supplies coming from Russia and the shrinking of markets for our goods. We, that is Russia, are extremely interested in Ukraine choosing the path of common sense, the path of economic stabilization, the path of responsible, consistent actions aimed at building a market economy."

Kozyrev Discusses Ukrainian Arms, Other Issues

LD0712175493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Vosboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaly Trubetskoi, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] "Considering our international com[illegible]nts and proceeding from the interests of Russia's [illegible]rity, we cannot allow the emergence of new nuclear states on our borders." This statement was made in an exclusive interview with INTERFAX in Murmansk on Tuesday by Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev.

That is why Moscow intends to firmly insist on removing nuclear arms from Ukraine for their further scrapping in Russia, he pointed out.

According to the foreign minister, the stand taken by Russia gained "unanimous support" at the Brussels session of the North- Atlantic Council for Cooperation. At Russia's insistence the Council urged Ukraine to ratify the START I treaty, "since no one in the world recognizes the Ukrainian parliament's resolution on this score as ratification."

As Kozyrev said, "Ukraine's interpretation of this issue is fundamentally wrong." "Kiev's arguments to the effect that the Ukrainian parliament ratified START I, and that this is its way of claiming the right to possess nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine, cannot be taken seriously," he stressed.

Russia, Kozyrev pointed out, "did all it could to conduct a peaceful dialog with Ukraine." "However, the problem of nuclear weapons makes the situation hopeless. The same relates to the Black Sea Fleet whose division is absurd in itself," he said.

According to the head of Russian diplomacy, "Sevastopol was Russia's naval base and it must remain as such." "The process of placing the fleet under Russia's jurisdiction must proceed painlessly by means of making compensation to Ukraine, notwithstanding the fact that Ukraine owes Russia enormous sums of money for oil and gas, as well as in the framework of trade," he said.

Kozyrev is confident that relations between Russia and Ukraine can be normalized as soon as Ukraine begins to honor the bilateral agreements reached in Massandra.

"But we have no right to go along with the absurd ideas of proliferating nuclear arms and dividing the Black Sea Fleet," Kozyrev said.

When asked about Russia's attitude to the possibility of expanding the number of permanent members in the UN Security Council by means of including Germany and Japan in it, Kozyrev noted that this is not a pressing problem.

With reference to the Russian Choice bloc, he is a cofounder of, Kozyrev said that in the future parliament the bloc may "in principle" enter into coalition with "any reformist movements." "However let's wait and see how many seats in the parliament Russian Choice itself will obtain," he added.

Kozyrev said he fears that members of the future parliament "will spend a year or two on their accomodation and training alone." "As a result we'll lose the Duma. To prevent this from happening we'll have to elect real professionals, such as those who belong to the Russian Choice bloc, to the Yavlinskiy bloc, to the Shakhray bloc," Kozyrev said. "In the next two years we'll have to 'push through' several laws which would enable the country to live in peace. Let the new deputies who will come later improve them."

Foreign Ministry's Karasin Holds News Conference

Reaction to Ukraine's START Stance

LD0712180993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By correspondents Dmitriy Vosboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The world community is forming a negative consensus in regard to Kiev's maneuvers in the area of "denuclearization". The need for Ukraine to honor its commitment to ensure its denuclearized status and join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in that capacity has become an urgent problem. This statement was made in Moscow on Tuesday by the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's press and information department, Grigoriy Karasin.

According to him, unlike Ukraine itself, the West does not view the Ukrainian parliament's resolution concerning the START-1 Treaty as "an important and positive step on the road to nuclear disarmament." "It is believed that Kiev's nuclear ambitions create a threat to the interests of the entire world community and undermine the process of disarmament," the diplomat said.

According to him, the European Union urged Ukraine to promptly take concrete steps to scrap the nuclear weapons deployed on its soil.

Britain's Foreign Ministry qualified the Ukrainian parliament's conditions as refusal to accept the START-1 provisions in their entire volume. Kiev's claims to the possession of nuclear arms were described as an element of "economic bargaining."

The North-Atlantic Council for Cooperation made it clear to Ukraine's foreign minister that politico-military cooperation in the framework of the "Partnership for the Sake of Peace" program will be impossible unless Ukraine alters its attitude to this issue.

Washington is also inclined to call in question the possibility of giving Ukraine economic aid without constructive changes in its attitude to the scrapping of nuclear arms.

"Kiev must take this into account," Karasin said.

Attacks in Algeria Condemned

LD0712142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1248 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec—Choosing other countries' citizens as targets for terrorist attack is a gross violation of human rights and an affront to elementary standards in contacts between states and international law. "This is less terrorism than thuggery cloaked in political slogans," the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department, Grigoriy Karasin, told a briefing held today in connection with the latest terrorist acts committed against Russian and other foreign nationals in Algeria.

Russia, he said, is fully aware of the seriousness of the situation. "On the basis of this, and in conjunction with the Algerian authorities, everything possible is being done to exclude any threat to the life and safety of Russian citizens. In particular, security has been stepped up at sites of bilateral cooperation and places of residence of our people, and small groups of specialists are being moved from outlying places to safer regions," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

DPRK Nuclear Issue Examined

LD0712144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Russia stands for the soonest decision on non-proliferation of nuclear arms on the Korean peninsula, a constructive dialogue and interaction between North Korea and the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency], head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing here today.

A Pyongyang statement on its readiness to receive international inspectors at some nuclear facilities "testifies to certain positive changes in the North Korean stand towards the account of the international opinion", stressed the diplomat.

These changes are estimated by Russia as a "step in the right direction", but "one cannot so far speak of solution to the key issues of North Korean observation of the non-proliferation regime, provision of permanent IAEA inspections and Pyongyang complete implementation of its obligations on guarantees", said Karasin.

Radio Cites DPRK's 'Positive Advance'

SK0812112893 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] During a news conference held on Tuesday Grigoriy Karasin, director of the publications and press department under the Russian Foreign Ministry, declared that Russia hopes that the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula will be resolved as soon as possible and that consultative negotiations are resumed between the DPRK and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

He pointed out that the fact that Pyongyang declared its readiness to accept nuclear inspections of some nuclear sites means that there is a positive advance in the DPRK's position.

Inspection Proposal Examined

SK0812061493 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Station commentary by (Juriy Sulter) from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] Pyongyang expressed its willingness to allow the inspection of more nuclear facilities [taesang]. However, it still refuses international supervision of the two facilities under suspicion of nuclear weapons development. Therefore, the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] headquarters said this cannot be a smooth inspection.

International inspections of North Korea have been suspended since February 1993. At the recent meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors, IAEA Director General Hans Blix said that the results of previous inspections were not enough to guarantee that Pyongyang was using nuclear fuel solely for peaceful purposes.

North Korea (?is increasing) the IAEA's suspicion of its nuclear weapons development. Pyongyang's refusal to completely accept international inspections just amplifies the suspicion that it is trying to stall for time to stockpile plutonium needed for the development of atomic bombs.

I think, however, Pyongyang's acceptance of partial international inspection represents a step forward [olmagan chinilbo].

It is natural that if Pyongyang and Seoul pose military threats to each other side, they cannot resolve the nuclear issue. Also, the United States' warning of its plans to station more U.S. soldiers in South Korea is not helping

the resolution of the issue. Mentioning sanctions against North Korea is of no use in resolving the issue, either.

It is important for Pyongyang and Washington to hold dialogue. Dialogue should be pursued to its highest capacity. The issue of interests between Pyongyang and the international community will finally resolve itself peacefully after they negotiate and make mutual conciliations and after the South and the North stop threatening each other with arms.

Iraq Sends 'Radioactive Materials' to Russia

LD0712141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[Text] Cairo December 7 TASS—The first consignment of radioactive materials, which were used by Baghdad in its programme of developing nuclear weapons, has left Iraq for Russia, a United Nations official told journalists in the Iraqi capital on Monday. The consignment was loaded on a Russian transport plane at an airport located 60 km west of Baghdad on Sunday, the well-informed Saudi newspaper "AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT" cited the U.N. official as saying.

The official did not indicate the exact amount of the radioactive materials shipped. This April, Baghdad argeed to the demand of the international community to take all radioactive materials which can be used for military purposes out of the country. Leaders of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) stated that about 35 kilograms of radioactive materials would be taken to Russia. Their transportation will cost Iraq "millions of dollars", according to experts.

The second consignment of radioactive materials will be transported to Russia at the beginning of next year, the U.N. official said.

UN Human Rights Resolution on Iran Examined

NC0812113193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Vladimir Pronin commentary]

[Text] The Third Committee of the UN General Assembly on human rights met yesterday and strongly criticized the human rights situation in Iran. For the first time in its activities, it issued a resolution in which the Iranian Governmeat is explicitly (?accused) of assassination attempts against its political opponents abroad. Our commentator Vladimir Pronin writes in relation with this:

Some (?27) countries voted in favor of this resolution. Two voted against and 45 countries (?abstained) [words indistinct], and thus it is expected that a similar resolution will be adopted in next week's UN General Assembly and that the number of votes in favor and against will be the same.

The fact that Algeria was the only Islamic country to vote in favor of the resolution is of interest; this means that the vast majority of Islamic countries have stances similar to the Islamic Republic's on the issue of human rights in the contemporary world.

As you know, Iran has its own viewpoint on this extremely (?unspecific) issue and it claims that America and its Western allies are exploiting the issue of human rights to promote their objectives and, first and foremost, as a lever to pressure the Islamic Republic of Iran to force it to alter its foreign policy. Meanwhile, as repeatedly pointed out by the Iranian leadership, the special religious, historic, and cultural characteristics of Islamic countries are being completely ignored.

Of course, the various approaches of the [words indistinct] of countries on this issue and the outcome of the voting on the resolution are, in the view of everyone, that this is the [words indistinct] UN General Assembly resolution which states that in (?confronting) their political (?opponents) in other countries [words indistinct]. Reference is made to a series of assassinations of Iranian dissidents abroad, which some foreign countries think were perpetrated by Iranian elements.

The resolution also expresses great concern over the serious threat to a certain citizen and against the individuals who have relations with him [word indistinct]. It is understood that (?this refers) to British author Salman Rushdie and the translators and publishers of the [words indistinct] "Satanic Verses."

In addition to the general principles [words indistinct]. But Iranian officials always reject such accusations. Moreover, as stated by Judiciary Head Ayatollah Yazdi, the issue of human rights in Iran [words indistinct]. We think that this time, too, Tehran's reaction will be the same.

Even though UN General Assembly resolutions do not envisage any type of legal or other consequences, nevertheless pubic reaction to these resolutions is so strong that many countries are even refraining from expanding political and economic relations with the countries concerned; and we see this happening in the case of Iran.

Shokhin Denies 'Alleged Differences' With IMF

LD0712191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1705 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—"The Russian Federation has been a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since June 1, 1992. Being a member of the international economic organization, it fulfills the IMF rules and resolutions of its ruling bodies and does not claim a special status in the organization," says a statement of the Russian IMF manager and Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin circulated here today. The statement commented on recent Russian media reports on alleged differences between Russia and the IMF.

"Having its representatives in the IMF board of governors and the board of executive directors, Russia uses regular

mechanisms to influence control over IMF activities and adoption of IMF resolutions with due account of its national interests," says the document.

Interaction between the Russian Government and the International Monetary Fund has traditional IMF forms. There is permanent contact with the IMF Moscow office and the Russian directorate in the IMF; statistic documents are submitted to the fund in accordance with information obligations; the IMF sends analytical materials and renders consultative assistance to Russian ministries and departments on their request and IMF missions regularly come to Russia.

The Russian Federation has an access of the IMF financial resources on conditions and in procedures established by the IMF rules. Fund credits are issued and used on request of its member-states and depending on fulfilment of their economic program.

Paper Views Espionage Against East Europe

PM0812120793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Leonid Mlechin: "Good Espionage Costs a Lot of Money. East Europe Need Not Fear Russian Intelligence"]

[Text] Russian intelligence is particularly active on the territory of the Czech Republic—this report in RUDE PRAVO, former principal newspaper of the Communist Party, greatly disturbed its readers.

The Czechs are annoyed and offended. Interior Minister Jan Ruml has just been to Moscow. He reached agreement with Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, head of Russian intelligence, that the two countries' secret services would not operate against one another (IZVESTIYA No. 199). Have the poor Czechs been deceived?

The Foreign Intelligence Service had the answer ready. Moscow does not intend to operate against the Czech Republic; that is, subversive actions damaging the country are ruled out. Information gathering inside the Czech Republic will continue.

The question of intelligence methods is a difficult one. If it were just a matter of information that can be obtained openly, the efforts of diplomats would be quite sufficient. But intelligence creates its network of agents by the familiar means of bribery, blackmail, and trickery.

Since, however, modern-day politics is not prepared to dispense with the services of intelligence agents, it would take a naive person to assume that Russian intelligence will ignore East Europe. With its scary report about the prospects of NATO expansion, the intelligence center in Yasenovo was primarily trying to demonstrate its own indispensability.

The Russian intelligence service's East European operation has been badly hit. Moscow had to recall many people because some of the personnel of the KGB missions in the socialist countries were officially known to local colleagues. Those who were operating illegally—unbeknown to their socialist camp friends—remain. New people have come in. Since numbers of resident agents have been cut in many parts of the world, there is a great deal of available personnel.

Former Ambassador in Prague Boris Pankin's dream of throwing neighbors near and far—the resident agents of political and military intelligence—off the embassy site did not come true. The ambassador, who later become foreign minister for a while, was obviously laboring under an untypical illusion. There is no diplomatic service in the world that has denied its intelligence agents cover. It is all a matter of how many places the intelligence community claims in the list of diplomats.

In principle many of those working unofficially for resident agents are also known to local counterintelligence services. It is not difficult figuring them out. If a journalist or businessman or an employee of an Aeroflot office goes every day, as if going to work, to an embassy where there are resident agents, counterintelligence will know whom it is dealing with.

But this knowledge does not do a great deal to make life easier for East European counterintelligence services which are not capable of monitoring Russian agents. They have neither the experience, nor the technical facilities, nor even enough people to create serious problems for Russian professionals.

Then there is the question of whether East European secret services need to worry about the Russians' activities.

East Europe's technological achievements are not yet so tempting that people chase after them. Perhaps they should follow the example of that great economic power, Japan, which is amazingly indifferent to espionage? Openness is by no means detrimental to the state. The purpose of intelligence is to establish that a particular country is not a threat. The wisest thing to do is to present intelligence with that opportunity.

As for fears that Moscow is using its agents to try to influence the political situation in a particular country, the Russian intelligence service's limited financial resources need to be considered. Of course, Soviet intelligence's past successes in India, for example, were largely due to the weakness of the rupee. The current scarcity of hard currency reserves in Moscow should be somewhat reassuring to the East Europeans.

Prospects for Talks With Estonia Weighed

PM0812124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Aleksandr Shinkin "Observer's Opinion" under general heading: "'Dictionary of Europe' in Word-for-Word Translation"]

[Text] The 15th round of Estonian-Russian talks has been held. As before, it produced no noticeable successes. Only

a treaty on the protection of cultural assets was initialed. There was no movement on an agreement on vital acitvity on contiguous territories. J. Luik, leader of the Estonian delegation, reported that it had important amendments to this document. Svirin, leader of the Russian delegation, replied by remarking that they would reexamine this problem at the delegations' next meeting.

He also reported that several issues would be examined at the planned meeting of the presidents of Russia and Estonia. These include a treaty on the Russian troops' withdrawal from Estonian territory; an agreement on social protection for servicemen and former servicemen of the Russian Army on Estonian territory; questions of trade cooperation between Estonia and Russia and of life support on contiguous territories.

The chief topic of discussion at the presidents' meeting will, to all appearances, be the Russian troop withdrawal. The Estonian side continues to insist on the date for the troops' final withdrawal—1 January 1994. In the opinion of Estonian Prime Minister M. Laar, the same situation is taking shape in Estonian-Russian relations as existed recently between Lithuania and Russia at a time of crisis, i.e. at the time of the suspension of the troop withdrawal. The prime minister believes that then, too, Russia found it hard to explain the reasons for its behavior. In addition, according to Laar, he is not sure that the meeting of the Estonian and Russian presidents can take place at all.

Nevertheless, the Estonian Government is continuing to discuss Russia's new proposal on terms for the withdrawal of its troops from the republic. This time Russia expressed readiness to withdraw them by 31 August next year if Estonia provides $23 million for the construction of housing for the troops being withdrawn. The Russian side is also asking for social guarantees to be provided for the pensioner-servicemen who live in Estonia.

Incidentally, in the talks with another Baltic side—Latvia—Russia also agreed to withdraw the troops before September 1994. These and other proposals it has made, in the opinion of Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, merit close attention. He believes that progress has been made on this path.

It is hard to say whether the talks with Estonia will overcome the deadlock. For, to judge from the words of President Lennart Meri, everything hinges not so much on property disputes as on the invented aggressive image of Russia. It is evidently hard for Estonian politicians to part with their beloved ideology, which regards the eastern neighbor as the source of all the republic's troubles. But whereas it is still possible to brandish this bugaboo on the international scene and extract some advantage for oneself, in Estonia itself, as the elections to local organs showed, this policy is doomed.

The Estonian side's decision to present a residence permit to military pensioners transferred to the reserve prior to 31 July 1991 can also hardly be considered a step toward us. This is not only because this amendment to the "Law on Aliens" was made, according to Mart Laar, "strictly by way of an exception to the general rule."

That action by the Estonian Government can be accounted for by a policy of double standards rather than by a desire to seek compromises with Russia. For, under the new procedure, military pensioners can petition for a residence permit only if they were born before 1 January 1930 or are married to Estonian citizens, or if their spouses or underage children have a residence permit. All servicemen who retired after 20 August 1991 lose the right to obtain a residence permit and are liable to be expelled from Estonia along with members of their families.

What softening of the law is there here? In the view of human rights specialists, this is merely another curtsy to international public opinion.

Moreover, this decree essentially cancels out the results of the lengthy work of the Russian and Estonian state delegations on preparing an agreement on social protection for military pensioners and their family members which enshrines provisions guaranteeing them civil, political, economic, and social rights and freedoms, the right to use living space, to privatize it, to sell it, etc.

It was no coincidence that in a statement on the aforementioned decision of the Estonian Government the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that questions affecting the destinies of tens of thousands of ethnic Russians must be settled not by means of unilateral willful decisions but in the course of bilateral talks.

It is not hard to assume that the threat of the forced expulsion of people who have found themselves on Estonian territory not of their own will and who have lived there for many years could lead to an exacerbation of interethnic tension, whose consequences are hard to predict.

In this situation the continuing Russian-Estonian consultations on seeking acceptable solutions inspire hope but nothing more. Until there is concord, the date of the Estonian president's working visit to Moscow also remains up in the air.

Mongolia's Ochirbat on Relations with Russia

PM0812113793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 7

[Interview with Mongolian President P. Ochirbat by Andrey Kabannikov in Ulaanbaatar; date not given: "P. Ochirbat: 'I Am Not Imitating Yeltsin.' Mongolian President Answers Our Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar-Beijing—Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat is 51 years old. He was born into a family of herdsmen and stockbreeders. He graduated from the Leningrad Mining Institute. He has held leading nomenklatura posts for two decades. He has been minister of the fuel and energy industry, minister of foreign economic relations and

supply, and chairman of the Great People's Hural Presidium. On 3 September 1990 he became the first president of Mongolia in the country's history. He has not gained the reputation of a revolutionary, but rather adheres to the principle: "In order to lead people, follow them." But he showed himself to be too independent for the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], which backed another candidate at the 1993 elections. Ochirbat armed himself with support from the opposition and confirmed his right to be the national leader, winning the elections by a large margin. Around one-third of rank and file members of the MPRP also voted for him. President Ochirbat has suspended his party membership.

[Kabannikov] Mr. Ochirbat, what has Mongolia lost and what has it gained with the collapse of the USSR?

[Ochirbat] Well, on a political level, we have, of course, gained something. Relations were too ideologized and politicized. Mongolia blindly followed the course of the USSR, sometimes contrary to its own national interests. Hence the image of a satellite, an inferior state, our parasitical attitude, and the paternalism on the part of the "big brother." Our relations with the new Russia have been based on equal rights from the outset. We recognized it straight away. In the difficult days of August 1991, at the request of the Russian leadership, the Mongolian Embassy in Moscow circulated a package of Yeltsin edicts among the missions of other Asian countries. But in the economy, the loss of a partner like the former USSR is hitting us hard. After all, there was a time when the USSR accounted for 95 percent of Mongolia's foreign trade turnover.

[Kabannikov] A few days ago, you once again criticized the country's government, which is praising the IMF. Why was this?

[Ochirbat] Reforms in Mongolia are proceeding according to rules prescribed by the IMF, but slowly, with distortions, and without taking people into consideration. Yes, one day they will bear fruit. But after all, for many Mongolians the topical question at the moment is how to survive. Literally. If 0.5 million people—one-fourth of the country's population—have found themselves below the poverty line, will they be replete from the praises of the IMF? Maybe we need amendments in the policy? And who should talk about the danger of this situation if not the president elected by these people?

[Kabannikov] Has Mongolia today got any claims to make against Moscow—territorial, political, or economic?

[Ochirbat] There are no disputes about the border. As for something else—during the glasnost period, the Mongolians found out the whole truth about the repressions which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen. It is no secret that a lot of people in our country blame the Soviet Union for this. There is some justification for this. In this sense we have complaints about the past. It is another matter that it is hardly fair to make these to the new Russia. At my January meeting in Moscow with Yeltsin, we made a joint statement on this in order to reestablish the historical truth and remove the bitter aftertaste in people's minds.

[Kabannikov] Another unresolved problem which we have inherited from the past is Mongolia's debt, which Russia has inherited the right to recover. This is a question of a very big, though not entirely precise sum, since it was measured in transferable rubles. But, obviously it is a question of several billion dollars. What is your current attitude to this question?

[Ochirbat] We really have inherited this question from the past and it is rather of a political than an economic nature. And it must be resolved in a political way. Taking into consideration the specific conditions of the emergence of the debt and methods which are generally accepted in international practice. Apart from this problem, Mongolian-Russian relations are developing positively on the whole.

[Kabannikov] Does Mongolia not feel unprotected after the departure of our Army from the country?

[Ochirbat] The reverse is true. I think that the Mongolians have started feeling calmer because no Chinese or U.S. warheads are targeted on them now. We are not planning to wage war against anyone. Mongolia has declared itself to be a nuclear-free zone. Many countries have greeted this fact with approval, including the United States, China, Russia, and Kazakhstan. We have nothing to fear. The country is seeking a new place in Asia, and would like to become involved in the international division of labor in the Asia-Pacific region and a single Asian transportation-communication system, and to cooperate with the international organizations operating in the area in order to become a factor of stability and predictability in the heart of Asia.

[Kabannikov] What role may Russia play in this future, in your opinion?

[Ochirbat] It would be completely banal to repeat how interlinked our vital interests are—in the political, economic, cultural, and environmental spheres.... Despite the current fall in trade turnover by a factor of more than two, Russia remains Mongolia's key economic partner; we receive practically all of our energy sources from you. It is just that you have your own difficulties and your country is aiming to pursue a broader economic policy, and we do not have enough currency to settle mutual accounts, as a result of which last year we were unable to receive your hardware and equipment and you our meat and copper and molybdenum concentrates. But after all, these are all today's problems, resulting from the reform of the previous structure and the transition to the market, and are connected with the breaking down of the old cooperation system and the building of new normal relations. Mongolian and Russian entrepreneurs are already taking the matter into their own hands. Eighty percent of the turnover is accounted for by direct border ties. This facilitates the continuation of our many years' cooperation. And the parallel processes of the democratization of society will bring our countries politically closer together. This is the

desire and spiritual need of our people and, I hope, of the Russian people. We are awaiting with hope President Yeltsin's visit, which we agreed during the January meeting in Moscow. After all, your last leader to come to Ulaanbaatar was Brezhnev, back in 1974.

[Kabannikov] Certain Mongolian newspapers have recently written that you are imitating Yeltsin. Is this true?

[Ochirbat] That is nonsense. I do not imitate Yeltsin. It is just that the Great People's Hural—our parliament—is adopting laws three times more slowly than it should. We are seriously lagging behind with the legal base of the reforms. I asked for the right to enact some of the extremely important legal documents by my edicts. That is what some people saw as a pursuit of superpowers and an attempt to infringe on the parliament.

[Kabannikov] No doubt the October events in Moscow generated a painful reaction?

[Ochirbat] Possibly. Incidentally, I spoke of my support for President Yeltsin at that time. Because we support the reformers, and he really is in favor of reforms. But the conflict should have been settled by peaceful means somehow. I will exert every effort to avoid any acute political confrontation in Mongolia.

Political Issues

Chernomyrdin Said 'Satisfactory' After Operation

PM0812120993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Premier's Health In Order"]

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is in the Moscow Central Clinical Hospital as a result of the exacerbation of a kidney stone complaint, feels satisfactory. Valentin Sergeyev, chief of the Russian Federation Government press service, who visited the head of the Cabinet in the Central Clinical Hospital, reported this to INTERFAX.

As Dmitriy Nechayev, the physician who is treating V. Chernomyrdin, reported, the premier was operated on last Saturday in the Russian Federation Academy of Medical Sciences Urology Department to break up the kidney stone. This was done under the leadership of Academician Nikolay Lopatkin. After the operation, V. Chernomyrdin felt much better and was transferred to the Central Clinical Hospital for after-care.

Denies Participation in Elections

LD0712183993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1456 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec—Russian Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin today categorically rejected a report in the Japanese YOMIURI newspaper stating that a "Chernomyrdin power party" [moshchnaya partiya Chernomyrdina] is preparing for the 12 December elections along with the 13 known political parties. This "party" is allegedly called upon to protect the interests of the fuel and energy and extraction industries in the new Russian parliament.

As an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Russian Government Press Service Chief Valentin Sergeyev, who had a meeting today with the premier at the Central Clinical Hospital, where the head of government is completing a course of treatment for his kidney stone ailment, Viktor Chernomyrdin issued a reminder for the umpteenth time that he is not taking part in the election campaign.

"I have decided not to claim even the title of a rank and file member of the State Duma, yet the Japanese paper elevates me to the rank of leader of a 'power party'. As for supporting the extraction and processing industries of the fuel and energy complex—that is a highly important task of the government, and we are constantly working on it," Viktor Chernomyrdin said.

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Premises for Federal Assembly

PM0712134993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Edict of the Russian Federation President "On the Housing of the Chambers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated 2 December 1993]

[Text] With the aim of ensuring the activity of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly **I decree**:

1. To determine as the place of accommodation:
of the State Duma—the complex of buildings at 36 Novyy Arbat Street;
of the Federation Council—the building at 26 Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street.

2. The complex of buildings at Staraya Ploshchad which is federal property and which is being vacated by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government will be provided for housing the Administration of the Russian Federation President and the Central Electoral Commission.

3. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, together with the Moscow City Hall:

will submit within month a proposal on the construction of a complex of buildings to house the Russian Federation Federal Assembly;

will adopt the measures established by legislation on handing over the buildings at 19 and 36 Novyy Arbat Street, 26 Bolshaya Dmitrovka, 1 Okhotnyy Ryad, and 2 Georgiyevskiy Pereulok to the control of the Russian Federation President's administrative department;

will adopt measures to rehouse the organizations located in the complex of buildings at 36 Novyy Arbat Street and the building at 26 Bolshaya Dmitrovka.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Russian Federation Presidential Administrative Department will prepare, by 10 January 1994, the complex of buildings at 36 Novyy Arbat Street and 26 Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street for housing the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 2 December 1993 No. 2072

Democratic Russia Opposes Site

MK0812111093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Where Shall Parliament Work?"]

[Text] Lev Ponomarev and Gleb Yakunin, prominent figures of Democratic Russia, have sent an open letter to President Yeltsin. It says in part:

An examination into the possibility of seating the State Duma in the municipal council building (the former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance building) has shown that the decision that has been made cannot be implemented technically for the following reasons: There were some 400 deputies working on a permanent basis in the former Supreme Soviet, and the State Duma will have

somewhat more—450. The seating of deputies in the White House was extremely cramped (the deputy and his assistants in the same small room). The State Duma staff will be approximately the same as that of the former Supreme Soviet. But the most important thing is that the useful office space in the municipal council building is one- tenth of that in the White House.

The question of buildings for the Federal Council also has an important political aspect. There is no need to say that the prestigious nature of the supreme organ of representative power in all countries without exception is emphasized by locating it in the center of a state's capital in buildings that either have a historic past or have been specially built for the purpose.

Draft Laws on New Parliament Previewed

MK0712125093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 89, 7 Dec 93 (signed to press 6 Dec) p 2

[Petr Zhuravlev report under the "Legislators" rubric: "Mikhail Mityukov for Responsible Parliament. Will Deputies Be Interested in President's Well-Being?"]

[Text] The contours of an organizational structure and mechanism of work of the future parliament are beginning to emerge with increasing clarity. At any rate the Russian Federation president's Legislative Proposals Commission lead by Mikhail Mityukov is making maximum efforts to provide deputies with at least initial material for discussion by the start of the Federal Assembly's work. In addition to the rough draft of State Duma regulations, two more documents submitted yesterday at public hearings to experts, authorized persons of 13 electoral blocs, and journalists have appeared. These are draft regulations of the Federation Council, and a draft law on the status of deputies of both chambers. True, very few could have the texts themselves because, according to new rules made in presidential administration structures, reporters are not entitled to receive working materials and drafts. And nevertheless....

The drafters admit that they have said nothing new in the writing of legal acts, nor did they want to. The already existing law on the status of the Russian Federation people's deputy and the regulations of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet were simply taken as the basis and changed in correspondence with the new draft constitution and requirements of the times. The section on the mechanism of administration has undergone the biggest rehashing. The Federation Council chairman of this convocation must be nominated by a group of at least 15 members of the chamber. The speaker would perhaps be elected for one year, and he would clearly not be able, without violating the rules, to comment on his colleagues' addresses—but on the other hand, it would be his duty to cut short rude remarks. One deputy chairman should necessarily represent a republic—a Russian Federation component—the other should represent a kray or oblast, and the third the autonomous entities. The chairman cannot be a fellow-countryman of any of his deputies. The same system is envisioned for each chamber's committees, whose number will be at least 8 and at most 10. Among those that are recommended to be formed by all means are, in particular, committees on questions of the federation and regional policy, on regulations, and on ethics. Sessions of the Federation Council which, under the constitution works on a nonpermanent basis, shall be called by the chairman as necessary but not less than twice a month. As the text says, "Deputies are obliged to be present at the sessions in person." Current organizational questions and the defining of the agenda for coming sessions will be handled by the chamber's Bureau, to be composed of the speaker, his deputies, and heads of the committees. The regulations also contain some other new things, but one cannot at this point speak of an integral, even if draft, document simply because the compilers have not written it to the end.

The draft law on deputy status was discussed yesterday more actively because it had been better prepared. Mikhail Mityukov, who spoke on behalf of the drafters, stated that "we need a parliament responsible before the people, and this responsibility forms the draft law's basis." This responsibility is supposed to find concrete expression in the procedure for recalling a deputy on demand of the voters in his constituency. Factions will apparently have an opportunity to raise with their parties the question of "replacing" this or that parliamentarian elected on the party list and who did something wrong. Generally, an early termination of deputy powers is envisioned if the deputy so desires (many object to this), if the deputy leaves the federation component where he was elected (for Federation Council members) to live permanently elsewhere, as well as in case the president disbands the State Duma before its term is over. Regarding the latter, Viktor Sheynis said that the drafters were largely influenced by the Russian political situation of early October. The draft provides for no deputy immunity for deputy-ministers in case they are liable for malfeasance in office and crimes. Parliament's controlling function is also provided for in the law, but according to Mr. Sheynis again, it should be considerably curtailed if not altogether scrapped. It is suggested instead to word the article on deputy requests and deputy investigation in greater detail. "A start-to-finish idea of the draft should be the idea of deputies' being independent from chiefs they elect for themselves," Viktor Sheynis believes. Part of the law is devoted to insuring the normal activity of parliamentarians. A State Duma deputy's salary shall be calculated as percentage points (so far unspecified) of the Russian president's salary. Besides, deputies will be getting a bonus payment for each day spent in the chamber's session on the basis of daily registration reports.

Mityukov and his colleagues repeatedly stressed yesterday both that the documents were still very rough, and the Legislative Proposals Commission continued to improve them, accepting any remarks and proposals of experts and parties. It is worth pointing out in this connection that while time is running out on the commission, the package of laws that is supposed to be submitted to the Federation Assembly in January is by far not limited by the draft regulations of the chambers and the law on deputy status.

Yeltsin Aide Comments on Secession Issue

LD0812131593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] The Head of the Presidential Department on Work with Territories Nikolay Medvedev has described as "irresponsible" statements by some leaders of Tuva, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Kalmykia about their disagreement with certain constitution clauses and even the possibility of leaving the Russian Federation.

He told newsmen in Moscow on Wednesday that the presidential administration had prepared an appropriate statement to this effect to be published shortly.

In Medvedev's view, such remarks are particularly dangerous now when the nation is going through transitional instability.

Besides, secession from Russia is out of question since 18 of the 21 federative republics are subsidized. Kalmykia's budget, for one, depends on federal subsidies for two thirds.

Medvedev voiced confidence that the referendum on the draft constitution would take place in all Russia's republics except Chechnya. He explained that a new basic law did not infringe on the republics standing. On the contrary, it only enhances the status of neglected autonomies.

Describing the situation in Russian regions as "calm and relatively stable," he predicted more stability after December 12.

He said that it was a big mistake to keep local administrations intact after the crisis in October. "No reform will succeed without strong state power", he declared and cited Chile as an example of getting over crisis "through dictatorship". However, he gave an assurance that the president would refrain from extreme measures despite any provocations.

Election Issues

Prime Minister Interviewed on Elections

AU0812074993 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 93 p 9

["An-PH"-signed interview with First Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar; place and date not given: "Yegor Gaydar on the Russian Elections"]

[Text] Parliamentary elections will be held in Russia on 12 December. However, the debate continues on when to allow, or to allow at all, the operation of foreign banks. We asked First Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar about this.

[PESTI HIRLAP] The area of banking is very sensitive and important for Russia's national economy. The government does not believe in restricting the spread of foreign banks; at the same time, the government has reservations regarding an immediate cessation to restrictions. What is the sense of a debate when the Central Bank is handing out permits one after the other?

[Gaydar] First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that, not so long ago, when our economy was characterized by instability and chaos, foreigners did not stand in line for permits at all. This interest emerged along with the first signs of stabilization.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Is there any need for competition at all?

[Gaydar] In my opinion, competition is very much needed in this area as well; however, we must make sure that this competition does not lead to a rapid regress in our domestic banking.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Contrary to Yegor Gaydar, the heads of the Central Bank do not think that this economic sector is so dangerous. We spoke with Deputy Chairman Dmitriy Tulin about this. How much foreign capital is there in Russia?

[Gaydar] The joint capital of the foreign banks active in Russia does not exceed 5 percent of the capital of the Russian commercial banks. The Russian Central Bank controls the increase in capital of the foreign banks active in Russia and their opening of new branches. Competition is definitely an advantage for the clients.

[PESTI HIRLAP] These are opposing opinions, could these opinions affect the upcoming elections?

[Gaydar] These opposing opinions could definitely affect the results of the upcoming parliamentary elections because, fearing strong Western competition, the approximately 500 Russian commercial banks are preparing for protest actions. Given the fact that, after the enterprise managements, the banking field has the largest organizational and financial scope, it is not difficult to compute how many votes their positions will be worth.

Filatov Briefs Press on Draft Constitution

LD0812104693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Presidential Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov met journalists today to discuss the situation before the December 12 referendum on the draft constitution of Russia.

Filatov touched upon the polemics in the media about the draft new constitution. He said there was no ground for concern about the divergence of opinions and stressed that "no uniform evaluations will any longer exist in society". "Different viewpoints on the draft constitution are a natural thing", he said.

Filatov then turned to those provisions in the draft constitution which have been criticised most of all. He rejected categorically allegations that the new constitution will help establish the dictatorial power of the president.

Filatov recalled that under the draft, the president appoints officials to key posts only on agreement with the Federal Assembly.

The parliament retains control over all international agreements and treaties of the Russian Federation which cannot come into effect before they are ratified by the parliament, he stressed. Moreover, the Federal Assembly will wield very strong levers such as the mechanism of impeachment of the president and a mechanism of pressuring him through a vote on confidence in the government.

"In this way the Presidency, in accordance with the draft constitution, is an institution of balanced power," Filatov said.

Yeltsin's chief of staff told journalists that he was concerned about the stance of the leadership of three republics within he Russian Federation—Tuva, Tatarstan and Bashkortostan ahead of the referendum on the new constitution of the Russian Federation.

According to Filatov, it would be proper to make an official statement on the fact that the leaders of Tuva, Tatarstan and Bashkortostan are seeking not so much sovereignty for their republics as sovereignty of their own power.

He stressed the need to differentiate between the interests of the political elite and the interests of the people.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS, the presidential chief of staff said that "the (earlier announced) decision on the residence of the Federation Council and the State Duma is not final."

He was referring to press reports that Russian President Boris Yeltsin had decided to separate the two chambers of Russia's new legislature and have them meet in buildings standing at a distance of several kilometers in Moscow. This decision evoked mixed comments from the media when it was reported.

Filatov said other options are now being considered and pointed to two such options, one being the compound of the Russian Academy of Management and Government in southwest Moscow, and the other—two buildings in Okhotny Ryad across the street from the Kremlin, which earlier housed the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Committee.

Stankevich on Chances for Adopting Constitution

LD0712191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The adoption of the constitution during the forthcoming referendum is the most important task, stated Sergey Stankevich, a leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord and the president's political advisor. If it is not adopted, we could have a replay of the confrontation between the legislative and executive authorities, which would shake the entire state. "One more round of confrontation may culminate the way the previous one did," said Stankevich.

He told INTERFAX, however, that the chances for the adoption of the new constitution are increasing. He said that although a few days ago the future of the constitution aroused deep concern because the voices of its opponents dominated, now the situation had changed in favor of supporters. The most important thing now is to ensure that the electors come to the polling stations, because the majority of them will undoubtedly vote for the constitution, said Stankevich.

He is convinced that the parliamentary majority will consist of reformers, dominated by Russia's Choice. He emphasized that differences between Russia's Choice and the Party of the Russian Unity and Concord were insignificant. Therefore, the main democratic associations, among them the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin block and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform, must unite and start working in the parliament without settling scores and dividing posts.

Sobchak Warns Against Failing To Adopt Constitution

LD0812034193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2249 GMT 7 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Four days are left until the elections and vote on the draft of the new Russian Constitution, which are to take place this Sunday. Citizens' insufficient participation in them could be the reason for the referendum on the Constitution not taking place. This was stated in an interview given by Anatoliy Sobchak to the POST-FACTUM agency .

[Begin Vlada Vishnevskaya report] A fundamental agreement has been reached between the leaders of Russia's democratic blocs to remove candidates for one-seat constituencies in favor of those who have the highest rating in the pre-election struggle. This was stated at a press conference that took place on 7 December by Anatoliy Sobchak, the leader of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms.

Touching on the referendum on the Constitution, Anatoliy Sobchak noted that in the seven towns of the Urals and Siberia that he visited, virtually no agitation is being conducted and people have little idea what the draft of the new Constitution is about.

[Sobchak] Without the adoption of the new Constitution we shall at once expose the new parliament's legitimacy to attack, and the elected State Duma and Council of the Federation will be unable to continue their work as the new parliament. Instead of calm, normal work on getting out of the economic crisis and on regulating our life, we shall again—just as in the past year and a half—be plunged into endless political debates and political struggle and this does not bode well for us.

Official Warns Constitution Does Not Envision Secession

LD0812131893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1245 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—A senior Russian official warned rebel regions of the country to stop "irresponsible separatist talks" and added that the draft constitution does not envisage a secession from Russia.

"Let everybody know that", Sergey Samoylov, deputy head of the department for work with territories at the presidential administration, told reporters on Wednesday.

He stressed that during the Tuesday meeting of the Russian president with North Caucasian leaders "it was decided to adopt a number of measures against Chechnya", the rebel Caucasian republic which declared independence from Russia.

He did not elaborate, but presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov said on Tuesday that Russia is going to make the border with Chechnya "watertight" and will guard the railway going to the separatist republic.

Samoylov also accused the leadership of the Republic of Tuva, bordering on China, for voicing separatist ambitions. "Those who say that are speaking irresponsibly", he said and added that a "serious statement" will be soon made on the problem by Russian authorities.

But Samoylov signalled that no other Caucasian republics, except for Chechnya, are planning a cesession from Russia. He said that all the leaders of the region are sure that the draft constitution of President Boris Yeltsin, which allows no cesession, will be approved in their republics.

"They were united in the opinion that the visit of the president in the current moment was a stabilising factor", Samoylov said.

Debate on Draft Constitution Becoming More Acute

LD0712182293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The debate on the draft Russian Constitution becomes more acute as December 12, the day of the referendum on the draft constitution, draws nearer.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, criticizing the draft constitution, dwells mainly on the threat of dictatorship. Subtler opponents of the president called in question the more thoroughly worked out part of the constitution—"human and citizens rights and freedoms". This is manifested in the statement of the international fund "Reform" which is entitled: "A different constitution is needed, and it should not be adopted hastily".

The statement is signed by Academicians Stanislav Shatalin and Leonid Abalkin, by Doctor of History Vyacheslav Nikonov, Vadim Bakatin and others. They, specifically, believe it is improper to formulate citizens' duties in the constitution. They regard this as the legacy of the totalitarian past.

Objecting to the authors of the statement as regards this aspect, Doctor of Law Viktor Mushinskiy, participant in the Constitutional Conference, cited in an interview with ITAR-TASS excerpts from the constitutions of Germany, Japan, and other countries in which citizens' duties are given alongside their rights. Mushinskiy believes that it is not fair to assert that the constitution has vestiges of the totalitarian past for the reason that it sets out citizens duties. He does not agree either with assertions that restricting citizens rights because of a state of emergency creates conditions for "tyranny". Mushinskiy noted that under the draft constitution a state of emergency is introduced by the Federal Assembly. There is no reason to ascribe the inclination for tyranny to it.

Text of Decree Rejecting Shumeyko Appeal for Ban

PM0712160393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 110 of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation "On the Appeal of V.F. Shumeyko, Chairman of the Government Commission on Holding the Nationwide Vote on the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution and First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government," dated Moscow, 2 December 1993 and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission]

[Text] Having examined the appeal by V.F. Shumeyko, chairman of the Government Commission on Holding the Nationwide Vote on the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution and first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, for the deregistration of the federal lists of candidate deputies nominated by the "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" and "Democratic Party of Russia" electoral associations and for the adoption of measures against the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc," "Civic Union For Stability, Justice, and Progress," "Russia's Future-New Names," and "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral associations because of instances of campaigning against the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution, the Central Electoral Commission points out that Article 14 of the Statute on the Nationwide Vote on the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution on 12 December 1993, approved by the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1633 of 15 October 1993, provides for the right of citizens of the Russian Federation and public associations to campaign unhindered "for" or "against" the draft of the Russian Federation Constitution submitted for the nationwide vote (except on the last day before the day of the nationwide vote and on the day of the vote).

Taking the aforesaid into account, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The appeal by V.F. Shumeyko, chairman of the Government Commission on Holding the Nationwide Vote on

the Draft of the Russian Federation Constitution and first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, for the deregistration of the federal lists of candidates nominated by the "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" and "Democratic Party of Russia" electoral associations is not to be complied with.

2. The Statement No. 92/001 of 25 November 1993 by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission and the Information Arbitration Court, which drew the attention of electoral associations and candidate deputies of the State Duma and the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation to the absolute inadmissibility of violating the Russian Federation's legislation on elections, is to be confirmed.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] 2 December 1993

Addendum Made to Rules on Voting Procedure

PM0712161993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 113 of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: "On Making an Addition to the Explanation of the Procedure for Applying Individual Articles of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 Approved by the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 1557 of 1 October 1993—the Explanation Approved by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission's Decree No. 24 of 10 November 1993"; dated Moscow, 2 December 1993, and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission]

[Text] Mindful of the numerous appeals by district and precinct electoral commissions and for the purpose of creating the optimum working conditions for electoral commissions and accelerating the voting process, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The Explanation of the Procedure for Applying Individual Articles of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 (Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission No. 5, 1993) relating to Article 36 of the aforesaid statute is to be supplemented with two paragraphs, as follows:

"On receipt of the voting papers, with the voter's consent or at his request, the series and number of the passport proffered by him or of an identity card taking its place may be entered on the voters' list either by a member of the precinct electoral commission or by another person. The voter verifies the correctness of the record made and signs his name.

"If the voter is unable independently to sign that he has received the papers, he has a right to the assistance of another person, but in this case someone not belonging to the precinct electoral commission. The surname of this person has to be indicated on the voters' list in the column 'Voter's Signature on Receipt of Papers.'"

2. This decree is to be published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, and the Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] 2 December 1993

Filatov, Press Ministry Discuss Last Minute Problems

LD0712171693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By correspondent Sarbaa, including recorded comments by Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A telephone conference took place in Moscow today. It was organized by the Press Ministry and the president's administration, and involved representatives of the Central Electoral Commission and of the Arbitration Court. Local heads of administration, representatives of electoral committees, and chairmen of regional TV and radio companies participated from local studios via a two-way communication system. The conference checked the country's readiness to vote on the new draft Constitution.

[Filatov] We would really like that, in the days remaining before the elections, the contents of the Constitution be brought home to people as much as possible. We are alarmed at the general atmosphere.

[Sarbaa] The reading of chapters of the new constitution has started nationwide on radio and television, and round tables of experts are being held, leaders of Russia's regions said in their reports to the head of the presidential administration.

Filatov especially stressed that, for the republics, the Federation Treaty will be an addendum to the new constitution.

[Filatov] This treaty is not the subject of the vote. Therefore, in order not to create confusion, we have not published it yet. I wish republics would stop manipulating this issue so much.

[Sarbaa] It was also promised to resolve all problems of the state debt to the communication and fuel industries this week.

Aide on Need To Counter Electoral Fraud

PM0712105193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by M. Shneyder, adviser to Moscow mayor and city government: "Elections: It Must Be an Honest Contest"]

[Text] Less than 10 days remain until the elections to the new parliament. Preliminary poll figures illustrate that public opinion sides with democratic blocs and their candidates. Nevertheless, the situation prevailing ahead of the elections inspires a sense of disquiet regarding the outcome.

It is a matter of reaching agreement on a common agreed candidate in those districts where the antireform opposition has put up a single candidate. Otherwise it is very likely that our supporters' votes will be divided up among several candidates while the votes of those nostalgic for the 75-year GULAG era are focused on a single candidacy—whether a Communist, a national-patriot, or an "agrarian." The upshot is that the person who receives a **relative majority** will get the votes of **all** the district's voters—that is the special feature of the first-past-the-post system of voting and vote counting.

Not everything is all that simple in areas where our candidates lead the polls either. Many voters have still not made up their minds. Therefore on polling day there will most likely not be that great a difference between the votes cast for representatives of the democratic blocs and for the national-communist opposition.

All these factors may and probably will tempt our opponents to use their favorite "secret" weapon—machinations with ballot papers and pressure on voters—wherever they can, particularly in areas where they already have the relevant "experience" and potential.

It is fairly easy to work out those rayons and districts. A. Sobyanin's independent information and analysis group has suggested a simple means of seeking out these "minefields." All you have to do is analyze the results of the 25 April 1993 referendum voting in order to identify the "dangerous" districts. These results indicate those districts where the voter turnout was considerably above the regional average. Then you identify among these districts the ones where the number of NO was up on the average and the number of YES answers to question 4 was down. These are the districts where some of the ballot papers were most likely falsified (planted or substituted). According to observers' data, in some regions the local bosses informed the voters that the results of the ballot in their rayon were directly linked to the timetable for imports of food and construction materials.

It is now clear what an important role correct organization of monitoring of the voting process can play in the present elections. There is plenty of evidence to show that the scheduled or chance presence of an observer at a polling place immediately reduced the number of ballot papers cast in this polling place by 10-15 percent compared with neighboring polling places (sometimes in the same village) and reduced by almost precisely the same amount the number of voters who voted in accordance with the "Communist" model: NO-NO-YES-NO. The absence of monitoring in such areas may nullify all efforts.

Right now, over the next two or three days, democratic blocs should reach agreement on coordinated actions in this highly important matter and form combined groups to monitor the voting. They must make provision well in advance for the following measures:

—identifying the most "dangerous" polling places using the above method;

—assembling observers from registered blocs and candidates, checking that they have documents confirming their powers, and giving them the necessary training;

—giving observers instructions on what they can and cannot do and forms to record irregularities on polling day;

—distributing observers so that experienced activists, the people least susceptible to intimidation (former law-enforcement personnel, lawyers, students from legal higher educational establishments, etc), and international observers end up in the most dangerous polling places;

—creating a legal "aid service" of specialists willing to be on duty on polling day;

—compiling a list of observers containing their passport details and the name of the bloc and candidate who sent them, and submitting it in advance to the precinct electoral commission;

—checking the additional lists of voters who have taken up residence in the electoral precinct after the closing date for the clarification of the lists (since 11 November 1993). These people are included on an additional list based on documents confirming their place of residence.

The "Statute on Elections" envisages the possibility of voting early for voters who will be away 15 days before polling day and will not be at home 12 December. However, no provision is made for observers to take part in the early voting procedure, although it is here that vote rigging and falsification can be expected. In this case the candidates' agents could act as observers and could, albeit selectively, check the authenticity of the names included on the additional list of early voters and make sure that the required voting procedure is observed. This can be done with the participation of the duty member of the precinct commission (for instance, by asking him to call the person in whom you are interested and see that he has voted and has no complaints to make to the commission).

On Saturday 11 December it is desirable to once again assemble the observers, check their readiness, supply them with the necessary stationery and office equipment, and answer their questions.

The combined group monitoring the voting should work in close contact with all electoral staffs 12 December. It is

essential in advance to see about transport and emergency telephones, prepare a map of the rayon showing polling places and militia stations, produce a journal to record irregularities, and give the numbers of the legal "aid service" telephones in the mass media.

New Election Data 'Atlas' Reviewed

PM0712111793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed article "based on materials from the Russian Federation President's Administration General Policy Analysis Center": "Latest Forecast: Maps Tell Everything"]

[Text] The Russian Federation President's Administration General Policy Analysis Center, working on data received from the Central Electoral Commission, has compiled an atlas comprising maps and charts showing the distribution of State Duma candidates from each registered bloc (no data for the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms is available) along territorial, professional, and age group lines.

The atlas includes 16 analytical maps broken in three main groups. The maps show the representation of State Duma candidates from electoral blocs according to Russian Federation regions and the extent of Russian Federation territories on which the political blocs plan to rely during the election campaign.

The most extensive Russian Federation territory (more than 80 percent) is covered by the following blocs: "Russia's Choice," "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" [PRUA], and "Civic Union for Stability... [Justice, and Progress]". But even these blocs seem to have lost sight of some regions with major electoral potential: "Russia's Choice" in Bashkiria, Dagestan, and Khabarovsk Kray; PRUA in Arkhangelsk, Bryansk, and Tula Oblasts; and "Civic Union" in Leningrad, Tula, Samara, and Kemerovo Oblasts, Altay and Khabarovsk Krays, and Udmurtia.

It is interesting to note the representation tactics of the Agrarian Party and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF]. In the event of a coordinated election campaign, their candidates will be represented in more than 85 percent of the regions. They cover all densely populated territories except Maritime Kray and Tatarstan.

Uneven coverage of Russian Federation territory is typical of the Democratic Party of Russia, the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, and the "Russia's Future—New Names" bloc. The aforementioned blocs' interests seem to be concentrated in regions where there is either a firm proportion of voters supporting them or a large proportion of undecided voters. These are mainly the major industrial centers in the European part of Russia.

Candidates from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (given the small representation of one or two candidates) almost fully cover the Russian Federation's border territories, the Ural region, and individual regions in Siberia and the Far East.

Three of the maps depict the Russian Federation regions where election campaign confrontations between political blocs could be the sharpest. These maps could be used for coordination purposes or for identifying Federation components where an active political struggle is expected either between all contenders or between individual participants in the election campaign. For example, candidates from either all or most of the registered electoral blocs are running in the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg and in Moscow, Nizhniy Novgorod, Rostov, Novosibirsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, but in these regions there are also districts where candidates from only one or two electoral associations are registered.

The most serious confrontation between "Russia's Choice" and democratically-oriented blocs can be expected in densely populated major industrial and scientific centers, whereas its confrontation with communist-oriented parties (the Agrarian Party and the CPRF) is expected, in addition to major economic centers, in all Central Chernozem Zone oblasts and the European heartland's "conservative" oblasts (Tula, Bryansk, and Smolensk).

Judging by the maps, the largest electoral potential is expected in Moscow, Sverdlovsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, and Adygea, with the smallest expected in Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, and Magadan Oblasts, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Karelia. In conjunction with other maps, it is possible to determine a mechanism for utilizing the electorate during the election campaign waged by various electoral blocs (this could take the form of either focusing on densely populated major industrial or agricultural centers, or covering all territories evenly, or dispersing among thinly populated outlying districts).

An appendix to the package of analytical maps includes maps showing the Russian Federation's territorial-administrative division without showing the division of krays and oblasts into autonomous okrugs.

Analysts from the President's Administration Center also offer a selection of bar and pie charts making it possible to analyze the age group and professional structure of electoral blocs and to make a preliminary estimate of the future State Duma's composition.

It is assumed that about 20 percent of seats will be taken by professionals from the sphere of state administration (leaders at all levels of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of power). Approximately 25 percent could be claimed by professional politicians (leaders of parties, public movements, and trade unions). The total representation by leaders of state enterprises and entrepreneurs could exceed 20 percent. About 23 percent could be taken by professional jurists and economists not employed in the

spheres of state administration and economic management. Just under 20 percent could be accounted for by representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

In all probability, and in addition to the traditional associations of deputies, parliament will probably produce—depending on the political orientation of factions and blocs—some new forms of these associations, primarily along the lines of corporate interests (party allegiance, age or sex groups, professional activity, and so on).

The fusion of the interests of political parties and of leaders of state and private sector enterprises with representatives of the ruling elite (both federal and regional) will lead to the formation of sectoral and regional lobbies whose interests could either coincide (anti-inflationary legislation, protectionist policy regarding Russian-made products) or be diametrically opposite (provision of taxation, credits, finance, and foreign economic activity benefits for individual enterprises, sectors, and regions).

The struggle between corporate interests could dominate the new parliament's activity, and this could complicate the implementation of constitutional reform and the solution of social problems and could slow down the Federal Assembly's constructive legislative activity.

Preliminary Election Results To Be Released to Press

LD0812102193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0912 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Spokesman for the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Bukhvalov told ITAR-TASS today that the earliest reports about the turnout in the parliamentary elections and the referendum on the country's new constitution will be released to the press at about 22.30 on election day, December 12.

The newspeople accredited at the comission will be allowed to enter the building in Noviy Arbat, downtown Moscow only from 22.00. No journalists will be admitted to the building of the Central Electoral Commission before 21.00, Bukhvalov said and added that special passes and checks will be introduced from the morning of December 12.

Inside the building, the press will work in one conference room on the third floor, where a dozen telephones will be made available to reporters.

259 Polling Stations Outside Country for 12 Dec Voting

MK0812110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Irina Grudinina under the "Elections" rubric: "Algeria, Switzerland, Then Everywhere. Voting Will Take Place in All Countries With Russian Embassies"]

[Text] Voting in the elections will take place in all countries where there are Russian diplomatic missions. In this connection, 259 polling stations have been set up outside Russia. Yuriy Popov, deputy chairman of an elections commission set up by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, said this to INTERFAX. He noted that voting will take place even in Switzerland, whose internal legislation does not provide for such a possibility. "This past April, the Swiss blocked the holding of the Russian referendum in diplomatic missions of the Russian Federation, but this time around Russian citizens will not have to go to France or Germany to vote for this or that candidate," Mr. Popov said.

It was not clear until recently whether citizens of the Russian Federation in Algeria would be able to take part in the elections. The reason is well known—terror unleashed by local fundamentalists against foreigners. It was decided, however, after consultations between the embassy and competent agencies, to hold the elections in the Russian Embassy.

Yuriy Popov specially noted that only those who have already secured Russian citizenship can take part in the elections in the "near abroad" countries. The commission is ready to consider, by way of exception, cases where applications for Russian citizenship have not been processed due to technical reasons by the time of elections.

Japanese Observers To Monitor Elections

LD0712181793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1449 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo December 7 TASS—The first team of 10 Japanese observers today left for Moscow to monitor the elections to the Federal Assembly and the constitutional referendum. Interviewed by ITAR-TASS, its leader Sozo Azuma, deputy foreign minister of Japan, said he hoped the "Russian people will come to the ballot boxes on December 12 to express the true will of the Russian people by voting".

The Japanese delegation will include 21 people by the time of the elections. Fifty [as received] of them will monitor the elections in Moscow and the rest in Khabarovsk. In addition to government representatives, the delegation will also include parliament members, experts from several non-governmental organisations and private industrial companies, many of which have already done business in Russia. The parliament members, who are now attending a session of Japan's top legislative body, will join both groups by December 10.

"Our main task is to see that the elections are held in a free and just manner," Azuma stated. "Russia is a huge country and our teams cannot cover all of it, of course, but their task is sufficiently difficult even on the limited area assigned to them. Their duty is to control a large number of factors before the elections, on the day of the voting, and, of course, in the period preceding the publication of the results of the vote."

In his opinion, "it is quite unrealistic" to expect foreign observers to fully cover all the foregoing factors due to shortage of time. "However, they will try, as far as they can, to get an objective idea of the elections. For this purpose, Japanese observers plan to contact representatives of the election commissions, political parties, intellectuals, and the press, and to coordinate their efforts with them, to exchange information with colleagues from other countries," Azuma stated.

The delegation expects to divulge its initial assessments of the elections and the referendum already on December 13, during press conferences in Moscow and Khabarovsk. Later, having completed its work and summed up the preliminary results of the voting, the Japanese observers will submit a corresponding report to the Japanese foreign minister. It will also be forwarded to the government of Russia.

Text of Warning Against Election Day 'Agitation'

PM0812131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

["Appeal from the Central Electoral Commission on the Elections to the Federation Council and on the Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, to the Leaders of the Mass Media, to Public Associations, and to All Citizens of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] The procedure and timetable for carrying out the election events, notably via the mass media, as laid down by the Statute on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 1993, and the Statute on the 12 December 1993 Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation envisage the banning of all public agitation:

for or against the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation submitted to a 12 December 1993 nationwide vote on the last day before the nationwide vote and on polling day itself;

for or against candidate deputies to the Federation Council or the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation or for or against the Federation-wide lists of electoral associations on polling day.

The ban:

on agitation for or against the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation shall go into force at 0000 hours on 11 December and remain in force until 2400 hours on 12 December 1993 (local time);

on agitation for or against candidate deputies and the Federation-wide lists of electoral associations shall go into force from 0000 hours on 12 December and remain in force until 2400 hours on 12 December 1992 (local time).

The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation draws attention to the need for the strict execution of these requirements.

The responsibility for the fulfillment of the aforementioned requirements with regard to agitation conducted via the mass media rests on mass media editorial office chiefs.

The violation of this ban with regard to other types of public agitation by public associations and citizens of the Russian Federation shall incur liability in accordance with the law of the Russian Federation.

The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation issues a reminder that under Part 2 of Article 30 of the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993 and Article 23 of the Statute on the Election of Deputies to the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 1993 the dissemination of materials impugning the honor and dignity of candidate deputies of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation is banned.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation
[Dated] 6 December 1993, Moscow, No 119

No Apology To Zhirinovskiy From Gaydar Over Hitler Remark

LD0712180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1349 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] The Russian Information Arbitration Court turned down an appeal from Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, nationalist leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party, who demanded that Yegor Gaydar, the leader of Russia's Choice election bloc, apologises for comparing him to Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler in one of his election speeches.

The request of Zhirinovskiy "is not to be satisfied", the court said in its ruling on Tuesday and added that Gaydar acknowledged in his explanations before the court that his pronouncements were impolite.

During a meeting with the Russian film-making elite Gaydar said that Zhirinovskiy had progressed a lot since his failure to become the Russian president in 1991. Gaydar said that at that time "he reminded me of Hitler from Soviet movies" where the Nazi dictator was always portrayed as a stupid and crazy man. "Now he reminds me of a real Hitler", he added.

Zhirinovskiy Comes Under Attack at Theater

LD0712165593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1202 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Larisa Kislinskaya for TASS]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Nationalistic leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy received "a blow in his face" from bodyguards of

a pop star who did not allow him to present flowers to the singer, according to Moscow police.

The Liberal Democratic Party, which is among 13 election blocs running for the Russian parliament, qualified the incident which occurred late on Monday [6 December] in the "Estrada" theatre in Moscow as an "attack" on its leader.

Police said that Zhirinovskiy was in the theatre where the "cabare" group was performing. He wanted to present flowers to singer Sofia Rotaru, but two bodyguards of the group blocked him for unknown reasons.

A brawl began in which Zhirinovskiy "got a blow in his face", police said, adding that criminal charges had been brought against the bodyguards who were accused of malicious hooliganism.

Candidate Deputy A. Tarasov Interviewed

PM0712112393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Artem Tarasov by Tatyana Fedorova; place and date not given: "Billionaire Artem Tarasov Felt Nostalgic About Earning a Small Wage"]

[Text] Artem Tarasov flew from London to Moscow and had adventures that would befit a normal resident [of Russia]. He changed the time of his flight several times, he got through customs only with extreme difficulty.... Maybe that is how it really was, or maybe fear makes mountains out of molehills? After all, lurking behind the first Soviet legal millionaire is a criminal case, charges of embezzling $30 million.

His status of immunity as a candidate deputy for the State Duma gave him the opportunity to return to his homeland. And he has made the most of it. Artem Tarasov is running in the 202d Central District in Moscow city.

[Fedorova] Artem Mikhaylovich, what about these millions? After all, you will have to justify yourself. It is hard to get into the State Duma with such "baggage." Maybe you should return these ill-fated millions?

[Tarasov] But I did not take any millions! You know the anecdote "about the camel," it applies to me. I do not know how to justify myself. Carry around this pile of documents, show them to everybody and explain to everybody? I cannot do that.

[Fedorova] But after all, criminal proceedings have been instituted, and an investigation is being conducted....

[Tarasov] The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has finally given me to understand that criminal proceedings were nevertheless instituted against me in July of this year. A person who came "to help" me recently appeared in my London office. He suggested that I buy my "File No. 112816." I asked what am I buying? He said four volumes of telephone conversations from England, and the findings of Prosecutor Makarov and Investigator Semenov on the embezzlement of 30 million from Russia. "But after all, this has not happened," I said to him. "It will," he answered.

So I too am laying down a condition: The minister of internal affairs or his deputy should appear on television and announce that Tarasov's case is closed because of the absence of a corpus delicti. They demanded $2 million from me for the "file." But I cannot pay for air. He suggested one-tenth of that, and maybe they will agree, what do you think? I want to propose an experiment. If they prove that I stole 30 million from Russia, then I will be down for 15 years in prison. I am prepared to go to court tomorrow. But let the investigator sit on the next bench. If the court objectively finds me guilty, then I will go to prison for 15 years, but if I am cleared, then the investigator will go. If he has the final word, then he should bear responsibility. But at the moment it is all blackmail and extortion at the highest level. A usual mafia ploy.

Making use of today's immunity, I want to find the "file" and find the person who came to see me in London. And then I will go to Kazannik.

[Fedorova] So have you come to sort out your affairs, deal with the mafia, or campaign for the votes of the electorate? There is not much time before the elections, and you are late as it is. Incidentally, why are you running specifically in the Central District of Moscow?

[Tarasov] When my friends proposed it, I agreed to run, but only from the Kremlin. They took my joke literally. The Kremlin, so be it. That is how the Central District came about. But I will also sort out my affairs, as I really do not want to go to prison for anything, or be a scapegoat. That is how Gaydar would like to see me.

[Fedorova] Do you know how to shepherd the country away from the brink of the abyss?

[Tarasov] I know and I am prepared to be useful, possibly by being a consultant in the government. I am not counting on the Duma, I do not have faith in it; new conflicts are inevitable.

Today this is what I am saying: I am preparing myself for low-paid, life-threatening, but very interesting work—in the Duma.

[Fedorova] At one time, you were the first legal Soviet millionaire. Now we have a lot of them. But have you become a billionaire since then?

[Tarasov] By Russian standards—yes.

[Fedorova] And how do billionaires live?

[Tarasov] My wife Lena and I have small apartment in a prestigious area of London. There are two bedrooms, a large kitchen, and two bathrooms. I pay a crazy price for this modest apartment: $400 a week.

My office is also in the center. A Turkish friend provided it free. In exchange I advise him.

Eight people work in my firm. I have big connections in the business world. At first it was very hard to establish myself in England, I was hounded, I had to frequently change apartments, I literally had to run about the city with suitcase in hand, I was followed. Now I am under the protection of the British Parliament. I was given permission to reside there, and this means that I am a British resident. That is what they call people who have obtained a residence permit here. Even there, I could bring a lot of benefit to Russia. Its image has to be changed. The only thing that can help the country is the investment of private capital.... So I was never poor in the material sense and now everything is in order.

[Fedorova] You have only been home for 24 hours. Have you managed to see your son?

[Tarasov] Filipp is now four years old. He seemed like a sad child to me. I would like him to go to school over there. But his mother and his grandmother are here and they will not let him go.

[Fedorova] Where will you live in Moscow?

[Tarasov] The guys have rented me several apartments, and I will migrate, traveling from place to place.

[Fedorova] Are you afraid? Have you got a weapon?

[Tarasov] No. And I do not know who I should be afraid of. I have not snatched anything from under the nose of my colleagues, and it is not advantageous for the [security] organs to remove me. But there is no peace in Russia now.

I intend to conduct an election campaign. How? No doubt in a happy way. If they offer me an opportunity to appear on television, then I will devote this time to a good sing-song!

Russia's Choice Candidates Deny Split in Bloc

MK0812091093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov under the "Democrats" rubric: "Burbulis Thinks Russia's Choice a Centrist Bloc and Rejects the Possibility of a Split"]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis and Dmitriy Volkogonov, Russia's Choice representatives, held a press conference that was first to be devoted to "Russia's Military Doctrine and Military Policy of the Russia's Choice Bloc," was later announced as "The Future Look of Russia," and finally resulted in a discussion of the current political situation with rare digressions to the earlier suggested themes.

As befits candidates of an electoral bloc, Mr. Burbulis and Mr. Volkogonov were advertising the election program of Russia's Choice, remarking in particular that "the energy of creation and life-assertion" were triumphant in it. According to Dmitriy Volkogonov, the program not only speaks about abstract models of pulling out of the crisis, but also offers specific measures. In his opinion, a victory for Russia's Choice and further development of democratic change may lead to an "economic miracle" in Russia by the start of the next century. "The elections is an answer to the epoch's challenge. Our answer should be democratic." Sharing Mr. Volkogonov's optimism, Gennadiy Burbulis stated that a "great future" awaited Russia.

According to Mr. Burbulis, a token of success for the democratic changes in Russia is the "unswerving determination to follow the chosen road of reforms." Cited as the main task was the enhancement of the "quality of political and economic stability." Mr. Burbulis remarked in this connection that the desire to strengthen stability was the hallmark of centrism, and at this moment it is Russia's Choice alone that combines a firm commitment to the cause of democratic transformations and the readiness to play a stabilizing role in society, and that can aspire to the performing of centrist functions in Russian politics. Mr. Burbulis proposed that all who want to be centrists should "prove that in deed." Mr. Volkogonov subscribed to his colleague's ideas noting that all previous claims to centrism ended in failure and a drift toward the "left bank."

Gennadiy Burbulis declared that Russia's Choice was ready for cooperation with blocs of a democratic trend both in the elections and the State Duma. He warned the audience of journalists that the possibility of a defeat for democratic forces in the elections was rather realistic. Mr. Burbulis expressed confidence, however, in the prudence of Russia's voters.

Fielding questions on a rumored split in Russia's Choice, Gennadiy Burbulis stressed several times that all talk of a split was out of the question; what was meant and implied were "creative discussions between like-minded persons." Mr. Burbulis deemed it necessary to declare that Russia's Choice was the most stable and representative among all the electoral alliances. "We are going to preserve unity also in the future State Duma."

'Russian Unity and Accord Party' Election Broadcast

LD0712120593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 7 December carries an election program featuring the Russian Unity and Accord Party.

A presenter says that this is the party of the regions, campaigning for genuine self-government and less reliance on Moscow, while it is also a conservative party. This is followed by a brief voice recording of party leader Sergey Shakhray explaining that conservativism stands for continuity and learning from experience.

A biography of Shakhray follows, describing him as a reliable, family man, interspersed with brief voice clips of Shakhray explaining that MPs of his party will represent the regions in Moscow and not Moscow in the regions.

The narrator goes on to says that living standards are tumbling and civil war is a possibility. Sergey Shakhray and his party stand for a strong state that can provide security and a social safety net for its citizens, drawing on its own resources and not relying on handouts from abroad.

After a musical interlude, there is an interview with a professor who is russing in a Moscow constituency for the party.

This is followed by an interview with one of the party's analysts, who describes the various approaches to economic reform from a headlong dash to the free market to a return to central planning. The Russian Unity and Accord Party, he says, favors economic reform but at more gradual pace to minimize the concomitant hardship.

After another musical interlude, the broadcast ends with the following statement of party goals:

"The Russian Unity and Accord Party is for stability and predictability in politics and the economy. The Russian Unity and Accord Party intends to revive not only Russia's capital but its hinterland as well. And finally, the Russian Unity and Accord Party is the force that can protect you, your children, your home and your land against any dangers or infringements from any quarter. The most important thing is to have a Russia without upheaval, says the leader of the party, Sergey Shakhray. And if you want to stand firmly on your own two feet and be confident of what tomorrow holds, then you have already made your choice: you are for the Russian Unity and Accord Party."

Details of Civic Union Election Program

PM0712120593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Elections: The 'Civic Union for Stability...' Program—For Reforms, But Without the Shock"]

[Text] The "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" electoral association has seven founders. Among them are the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE], the All-Russia Union "Renewal," the Russian Social Democratic Center, and a number of social organizations representing veterans, young people, and trade unions. The federal list of candidates contains 184 names, of which 86 candidates are standing in single-seat districts. The Civic Union lists contain representatives of 44 krays and oblasts, and 16 republics.

The candidates include people working in the most diverse spheres of the national economy: economists, engineers, lawyers, political experts, the military, managers of enterprises and kolkhozes. There are 15 professors among them. The average age of candidates is between 40 and 48. By far the greatest number of candidates has been put forward by the RUIE, including [as published] the All-Russia Union "Renewal": 50 enterprise and joint-stock company managers, 18 autonomous entrepreneurs, and 22 representatives of unions of industrialists and entrepreneurs.

THE BASIS OF THE "CIVIC UNION" ELECTION PROGRAM IS THE REVIVAL OF RUSSIA.

We are for reforms, but without the shock. We need a new economy, not fresh upheavals.

The aim of reforms must be an effective, socially oriented market economy, which is possible only in conditions of a stable democratic state.

An effective market economy can be created only through the joint efforts of industrialists and entrepreneurs, scientists and engineers, urban and rural workers.

Russia must not become a source of cheap raw materials and cheap brains for the world economy. Our country has all the necessary material and human resources to overcome today's economic crisis and to guarantee prosperity for current and future generations of Russians.

The basis for overcoming the crisis can only be the implementation of a balanced economic policy which motivates commodity producers and guarantees the saturation of the internal market with competitive commodities.

Such a policy should include:

—sensible state regulation of the market economy, not bureaucratic tyranny in respect of commodity producers;

—a stable legal base for economic activity;

—real social protection for the population;

—the defense of commodity producers' interests;

It will only be possible to realize such a policy once the leadership of the legislative and executive authorities alike comprises a majority of accountable people capable of thinking along new lines and, most importantly, understanding and defending the Russia's genuine interests.

Only constitutional order reinforced by functioning laws can be a guarantee of stability, freedom, and the civic rights of Russians.

We will strive on the basis of accord to restore the unity of peoples and territories once part of the USSR. We are for the equality of Russian Federation components, the rational decentralization of control, and full-fledged local self-government in conditions of unity in terms of territory, citizenship, economy, monetary system, defense, and foreign policy.

Likewise, we will use the capacities of the state to support the most advanced enterprises and to aid the development of national enterprise and small and medium-sized business. We will increase taxes on superprofits, reduce them for those who produce commodities and services necessary to all, and exempt the least well off citizens, veterans, and invalids from taxes altogether.

Housing construction will be given priority status—subsidizing it will revitalize the entire economy, solve social problems, and create for the citizen freedom of choice: the choice of whether to become a home-owner, or whether to rent accommodation in any location in Russia.

Candidates from the association are in favor of observing the rights of minors and young people, providing guarantees for the young in the spheres of labor and education, supporting young families, and developing talented youth.

As for Russia's believers, "Civic Union" promises to give direct support in strengthening the spiritual culture of the people and help in restoring cathedrals and monuments pertaining to that culture.

"Civic Union" intends via its representatives in the State Duma to reinforce legislatively the priority of traditional religions, and to exempt from taxes believers' organizations and their enterprises.

"Civic Union" urges voters to vote for their candidates—those who:

—favor strengthening the cream of Russian society—families and the faithful;

—favor reforms without impoverishing the population;

—favor peace in the state, society, and in every home.

We see Russia as a strong, stable, and confident multiethnic state, relying on the great heritage of its thousand-year history. We are striving to preserve and multiply the original traditions of its equal peoples.

Our candidates are people of knowledge and action! They have demonstrated this even in today's turbulent times. And the main thing is that they can see the road to the future—to a great Russia.

We are prepared to assume responsibility for Russia's fate, to form, together with rational reformist forces, a government of national confidence which will be able to take the country out of crisis.

Parties' Ecological Positions Examined

PM0712134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

Article by Tatyana Smolyakova: "Trotting Out the Ecology Hobbyhorse. Election Programs Are Today's Equivalent of Socialist Pledges, and Ecology Is One Mandatory Issue"]

[Text] History is repeating itself. The good old workhorse of ecology, consigned to the furthest corner of the stable during the time of political squabbles, emaciated and seriously ill, has again been trotted out into the daylight. Numerous riders wearing all colors of the political rainbow have saddled the nag and, with its bones rattling, poor Rosinante is being paraded in the election race across Mother Russia.

Let us try to take a look at their faces and hear their voices.

The "Cedar" Constructive Ecological Movement of Russia. The bloc is built around the eponymous sociopolitical organization, which was registered last August. Is it not a pity that the organization is not involved in any noble deeds whatsoever. But it does sound impressive—just what is needed for the elections. "Constructive," no less! There is no room here for sundry "green" loudmouths.

What a difference: We—specialists, experienced and mature politicians, and, even more understandably, state functionaries who have held senior positions for decades on end—have pursued a policy of ecocide, but nowadays proclaim that the system is apparently to blame for everything.

Ye. Belyayev, chairman of the State Committee for Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision; V. Chiburayev, chief of administration in the same committee; chief state sanitary physicians from several oblasts; heads of administrations; and economic leaders—these make up the cream of the Constructive Ecological Movement of Russia and the backbone of its electoral list. Is it not amusing to hear these people calling themselves a public organization?

As a matter of fact, such crossbreeding is not only politically advantageous but also practically convenient. When it comes to collecting signatures in support, for example. Since "Cedar" is built around the sanitary and epidemiological supervision system, the requisite number of signatures was collected swiftly and without any problems by the collectives of sanitary and epidemiological stations—you fail to swear loyalty to your own boss at your own risk.

The moral and civic stance of "constructive ecologists" was brilliantly demonstrated a few days ago by V. Chiburayev, chief of administration of the State Committee for Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision, in an interview with Radio Mayak. He highly appraised the public movement despite its shortcomings. Specifically, its noisy campaign against nitrates in foodstuffs. "I, in my capacity as state functionary, also share in the blame for the enhanced nitrate content," V. Chiburayev admitted with sorrow. "Had it not been for this agitation by the public, including the press, we would have been unable to improve the quality of foodstuffs."

Now you know! It is awkward to even comment on such a statement, seeing that it leads to an absolutely unambiguous conclusion: The mighty state supervision institution is incapable of performing its direct duties without public prompting. But now everything will be in order: I call the tune and I dance to it.

"We certainly believe," V. Chiburayev went on, "that we have not done enough. Maybe we should have struggled more actively.... Nonetheless, I blame the system." Good God, could someone at long last explain what they mean by "the system?" Could it be some extraterrestrial being which has turned us all into zombies? Or an epidemic of some mental illness which has deprived us of all vestiges of brain, honor, and conscience?

Fine, let us assume that earlier "the system" did not allow people to work according to their conscience. But who is to blame now for the fact that the sanitary and epidemiological situation in the country is disastrously deteriorating? The incidence of infectious and parasitic diseases is increasing, showing a 200-percent increase in some indicators over the

last year! But even now blame is pinned on all and sundry, including journalists (we are constantly hearing these accusations), but never on those in charge of state sanitary and epidemiological supervision. It is said that a poor workman always blames his tools.

It is no accident that not a single serious "green" organization has joined this electoral bloc. Two major and four minor differences, as the saying goes. No matter how much respect we might have for, say, the "Soldiers' Mothers of Russia" or the Russian Association of Students Trade Unions which have joined the bloc, it is hard to see how they are involved with ecology.

Minister of Ecology V. Danilov-Danilyan has picked different associates. He is running for "Russia's Choice." Even though one might ask: Why does the minister need a deputy's seat? Probably for the same reason as the leaders of sanitary and epidemiological supervision. Recently the Ministry of Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources has shined with its backing for ecologically dangerous government projects and decisions. It would be very convenient if kindred spirits were also sitting in parliament.

Each electoral bloc or party has people who have, in one way or another, distinguished themselves in the ecological sphere. There are quite a few such candidates in territorial districts as well. Casting aside any political tag they may be wearing, we are left with purely businesslike and human qualities. This will evidently determine the choice many of us will make.

Aleksandr Kosopkin, for example, is well known in Chelyabinsk Oblast: Locomotive engineer in the past, then chairman of the Supreme Soviet subcommission for the social protection of citizens affected by radiation, now member of the Russian Federation Commission for Legislative Proposals (part-time), Aleksandr Sergeyevich, in contrast with many others, really earned his keep as deputy. He directly participated in the drafting of many legislative acts providing protection for victims. His most valuable brainchild is the Law on Social Protection of Citizens Exposed to Radiation as a Result of the 1957 Accident at the "Mayak" Production Association. There can be no doubt that if A. Kosopkin joins parliament (from the "Dignity and Charity" bloc), his noble work will continue.

Valeriy Menshchikov's work as deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Ecology was very fruitful. At times, while observing the congress battles, it appeared that Menshchikov was the only person who did not forget for a single moment why he was there, why he was elected. Now he is running as an independent candidate in Lipetsk.

Nor is it possible to overlook the candidacy of Doctor of Sciences Professor Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov ("Russia's Choice"), vice president of the Academy of Natural Sciences and past chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection. It is said of people like him that a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. And yet the enlightened world holds him in very high esteem. An individual like him would be useful in any parliament.

So let us stop being naive fools, letting our judgment be clouded by wonderful words which are at times backed by nothing but a void. Let us render to each according to his deeds!

'Voter's Hour' Shows Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov

LD0712225993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 7 December carries its regular "Voter's Hour" program.

The first half of the program is devoted to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Party Leader G.A. Zyuganov is shown sitting in the studio with party candidate Nina Berdnikova, discussing various issues raised by voters. Zyuganov laments the destruction and impoverishment which have taken place in the country in recent years and condemns the policy of economic shock therapy. He goes on to express regret at the break-up of the historical Russian state and deplores the current economic situation of Ukraine, which he recently visited. He says: "We propose that links be immediately restored, all types of links and primarily economic links, as a minimum with Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Without this it will be very difficult to survive the coming winter. Second, the results of the Belovezhye plot must be denounced as illegal and contrary to the nationwide referendum. Third, we must without fail defend our fellow-countrymen who have been thrown to their fate; there are 25 million Russians alone as well as 10 million others who do not wish to break their links with Russia. Here the question of dual citizenship is very real and legitimate. No one is insisting that this be done by violence. It should done by conscious goodwill and understanding of the situation."

Zyuganov complains that all power is being concentrated in the hands of the executive. The representative power is being destroyed, as are relations with the regions. "The representative power must be able to supervise the executive power. Otherwise we will not have any guarantee against a repetition of the bloody and dramatic October events. And the president in this case should also be under the supervision of the representative power. What is now set out in the constitution provides for no supervision at all. This means that the president and, as a rule, his immediate entourage are in a position to manipulate the whole of the country's life. This gives rise to collective Bironovschina [rule by Empress Anna's favorite, Biron, 1730-40] which Russia has long suffered. A repeat of such a tragedy would be simply impermissible."

Zyuganov denies the thesis that rejection of the draft constitution would lead to civil war. "In all democracies it could not be adopted even by half the votes; it will mean a deepening of the split and collapse." He goes on to point out that the new constitution has worse provisions for education and appeals to voters to take an active part in the referendum.

Discussing possible forms of ownership, Zyuganov says: "We have very concrete proposals: The right relationship must be found among the proportions of ownership: state ownership—the state should be primarily concerned with the sphere of power engineering, the defense complex, communications, transport, and so on; collective ownership; and private ownership which is most applicable to the service sphere, municipal services, commerce, and so on."

An anti-Yeltsin song is then played for 4 minutes over film clips contrasting the achievements of the former USSR with present social ills. Zyuganov laments current moral laxity and calls for state support for culture, science, and education. He concludes by complaining that the effective banning of opposition newspapers reveals that the present election campaign is undemocratic.

The second half of the program is devoted to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], featuring its leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who begins by giving details of his coming campaigning visit to St. Petersburg. He goes on to recall the anniversary of the Battle for Moscow in 1941 in which his uncle died. He invites present servicemen to a music festival on Friday 10 December in Moscow.

After outlining his view of the future Russian state organization, Zhirinovskiy says: "The state is the treasury and the army. If the treasury is empty and there is no army, then there is no state. The treasury really is empty because it has been robbed by those who are seated before you today and declare with horror: How can it be that our state has collapsed, how can it be that our economy has collapsed? But it is they who have done this, all of them except our party. All of them, apart from me have been and are still in control of the Russian state. They have all been deputies, ministers, vice premiers, and are now leaders of political parties. Throughout all these years, throughout these 75 years it is precisely they who have caused the destruction."

Zhirinovskiy explains how he would assist the various sections of the population. "We will change things. Television will be different. We will remove all commercial advertisements. They will only be allowed in the newspapers. There will be no Snickers, no chewing gum, no beaches. We have eight months of winter. We need fur coats and not your beaches and cooling drinks. You will be able to calmly watch good Russian films. Ninety percent of all news on our television channels will be only about Russia, in good Russian language. You will be addressed by Russian presenters with good, kind blue eyes with fair hair. This can all be done quickly."

Zhirinovskiy says that today the LDPR has debts of over 200 million rubles through participating in the campaign, and appeals for contributions. By voting for the party, "you will help us to get 150 deputies into the Duma. If they are there, then your worries that Yeltsin might disperse this Duma, too, will be groundless. A powerful and strong contingent of the LDPR will never allow and will not cause parliament to act in such a way that someone should disperse it or even raise the issue of disbanding it. Moreover, never again in the history of Russia will anyone dare to fire on parliament. We will never allow such a monstrous act. Moreover, such a blasphemy as, only two days after this vile victory, to present awards and titles as a reward for Russians killing Russians in the capital of Russia is, of course terrible. We will try to put right the mistake, to rescind these titles and these awards. I think they will themselves lay down these titles and awards.

"I know that many Russians have good feelings for Aleksandr Rutskoy, for Albert Mikhaylovich Makashav, and for Achalov. I know Vyacheslav Alekseyevich [Achalov] personally and I promise that the State Duma will raise the question of releasing them from the Lefortovo prison. There are places there, and so there should be, for other people who have really committed terrible crimes throughout all these years. I think that those who initiated perestroyka, who ruined all of our economy and destroyed our state will be brought to book."

Zhirinovskiy goes on to condemn rival politicians. "If our faction is in parliament, do not worry. Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] will often be on holiday at his dacha in Zavydovo. You will see very little of him, parliament will work very well." All problems will be solved.

This is followed by a recorded interview with A. Kapshirovskiy, a candidate for the LDPR and alternative psychotherapist, who recommends several of his books to the viewers.

'Election Marathon' Presents Yegor Gaydar

LD0712231493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2039 GMT on 7 December broadcasts its "Election Marathon" program which highlights Yegor Gaydar, the leader of the Russia's Choice bloc, through a Russia's Choice program called "Difficult Task".

The "Difficult Task" program comprises of various interviews with representatives of the Russia's Choice bloc, former members of government, Yegor Gaydar himself, his wife and his parents, who talk about Yegor Gaydar, his work, his image as a politician, his personal qualities, etc. The aim of the program is to help people to see Yegor Gaydar as he is.

The program begins with Anatoliy Chubays, the chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, being asked about the most effective way to present Gaydar. The video shows Gaydar in a car on his way to some appointment and chairing a seminar back in 1985. Sergey Vasilyev, the leader of the Working Center for Economic Reforms attached to the Russian Government, who is identified by caption, describes Gaydar as a very gentle person, but praises his knowledge of the economy.

The film moves to Gaydar's apartment and shows his two children and his wife, Mariya Strugatskaya, who is giving a bath to the youngest child, while continuing to speak to an

interviewer. She complains that the children do not see much of their father, only on television and sometimes in newspapers. She praises Gaydar's character and his devotion to his work.

Then the film goes on to show Gaydar's parents, namely Rear Admiral Timur Gaydar and Ariadna Bazhova-Gaydar, at home. They describe Gaydar as a very sincere person and say that it is more characteristic of him to solve issues relating to the economy, than to speak about trivial matters, or pay attention to his appearance. Gaydar enters the scene, and the film crew shows him in an interview with Mikhail Berger, the chief of the Economic Department of the IZVESTIYA newspaper, who praises Gaydar for his economic astuteness and expresses concern about Gaydar's present involvement in politics. Over a cup of tea, Gaydar speaks about the measures he took in 1992, and stresses that the most painful measures have already been taken and whatever lies ahead is not going to hurt that much.

The program shows Gaydar addressing the people during the October events in Moscow and plays the soundtrack of his address. Gaydar recalls that he was not afraid to call upon people to take to the streets, because the threat of Fascists coming to power in Moscow was more frightening. He is convinced that it is the obligation of the people's government to call on its people in such a situation. In October he regarded it as necessary to address the people, and he informed both the president and the prime minister about his intention.

The program concludes with his father speaking about Gaydar's biography, stressing that, although there is nothing out of the ordinary in it, every line testifies to a good deal of courage in taking decisions that do not always prove popular.

Agrarian Party Presents Election Broadcast

LD0812115093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 8 December, in its morning election slot, broadcasts a program containing a talk by Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kulik, deputy chairman of the council of the Agrarian Union of Russia and member of the board of the Agrarian Party of Russia, and by Vitaliy Fedorovich Vershinin, who until recently headed the Farmers' Movement in Moscow Oblast and is himself a Moscow Oblast private farmer, presenting the Agrarian Party's election platform.

Kulik begins the election broadcast by agreeing that the "conservative" Agrarian Party is in opposition to the government and its present reforms, particularly in the countryside, but he denies that it is simply that the peasantry is frightened of the market, pointing to the development of agricultural enterprises dealing with the production, processing, and distribution of food. The main point of the Agrarian Party's comprehensive program for putting things right, he says, centers on changing land usage in farming.

For his part, Vershinin outlines his objections to people paying for land, saying that land should be handed over free of charge to those who work it but cannot afford to pay for it. Kulik adds that although the party advocates the private ownership of land, it sees no need to break up the collective farms for ideological reasons. Modernizing agriculture on Western lines will take years, he says, and will require enormous investment.

Vershinin then goes on to state that the Agrarian Party wants lower prices for agricultural produce on the basis of lower production costs for all. There is no need for citizens of Russia to be short of food, he says. Food prices can be regulated even in a market economy.

'Russia's Choice' Win Would Favor Diplomatic Continuity

PM0712121993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggert report under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "In the Event of the Defeat of 'Russia's Choice,' Moscow's Foreign Policy May Become Unpredictable, Western Diplomats Believe"]

[Text] "It is useless to analyze the foreign policy programs of the parties and candidates at the elections to the Federal Assembly—they simply do not have any." This opinion of a Western diplomat is very characteristic of the assessments which foreign embassies are making about the election campaign in Russia.

"However, the same interlocutor believes, one of the blocs does not need a special foreign policy program. 'Russia's Choice,' on whose list Andrey Kozyrev is running, de facto has one." The majority of diplomats to whom we managed to talk are practically unanimous: Their governments will be happy if "Russia's Choice" proves to be the leader in the preelection race.

"If Kozyrev remains minister, the continuity of the often complicated dialogue which Moscow has been conducting with the West following the collapse of the USSR will be ensured," a representative of the embassy of a West European country believes. "This does not mean that we are not capable of establishing working relations with another person, but several months may be required for that, or even a couple of years." Our interlocutors are pointing out that with Kozyrev's departure, the trusting atmosphere which was established by the majority of Western states in their diplomatic contacts with Russia may be lost. Abrupt changes in the leadership of the Foreign Ministry may make our country's foreign policy unpredictable.

"At the moment the exchange of opinion with Moscow is proceeding very openly, even on difficult questions such as its peacemaking role in nearby foreign countries," a high-ranking diplomat confirmed. "The disappearance of this factor is not in our interests."

At the same time foreign observers are worried about a certain divergence in attitudes toward relations with the

CIS countries which exists within the leadership of the "Russia's Choice" bloc. As we know, Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov, proceeding on the basis of strictly economic considerations, are defending a stance which can be summarized by the phrase: "Russia first and foremost!" Kozyrev is a supporter of closer rapprochement and integration within the framework of the Commonwealth. However, these contradictions are not worth dramatizing, the majority of diplomats believe: The divergence in views rather reflects the difference in the points of view of the "pure politician" Kozyrev and the pragmatic economists Gaydar and Fedorov. If "Russia's Choice" wins, a compromise approach will be worked out within a common government policy, experts believe.

The attention of foreign observers is also being drawn to Yavlinskiy's bloc, which has on its list the influential foreign policy specialist Vladimir Lukin. By and large, the figure of the current Russian ambassador in Washington does not generate hostility among the Western representatives in Moscow. Nevertheless many of them noted Lukin's love for "enlightened statehood" with a hint of Russian nationalism. "Apart from that," an adviser at one of the European embassies said, "reading Mr. Lukin's article in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, we noticed that there is no constructiveness in his criticism of the Russian Foreign Ministry line. You get the impression that Lukin has nothing to propose instead."

Will the West's relations with Moscow change if you assume that "Russia's Choice" will not garner a sufficient number of votes 12 December, and the government will be formed by other political forces? Discussing this subject, a diplomat from one of the G-7 countries noted: "If representatives of 'Civic Union' or Travkin's party forms the basis of the government, and Communists find themselves at the head of any important ministries, this will undoubtedly affect our policy in respect of Russia. Talks with the European Union and the IMF will most likely reach a deadlock. Radical changes in Russian policy, inevitable in the event of the defeat of 'Russia's Choice,' will doubtless lead to a reduction in credits and a freeze on aid programs. From the purely financial point of view, Gaydar's victory will cost us far more. But in this situation we have to think not just of the West's strategic interests, but those of the whole world. They consist of establishing an economically strong and democratic Russia."

RRP's Lysenko on Elections, Blocs, Programs

MK0712113093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 5 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vladimir Lysenko, chairman of the Republican Party, member of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc council, by Aleksey Bogomolov; place and date not given: "The Apple of Federalism. Vladimir Lysenko: A Minimum Success for Us Is 10 Percent of Seats in the Duma"]

[Text] Vladimir Lysenko is a well-known person. Over the past three years he has worked in the Supreme Soviet and in the State Committee on Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities Affairs, as deputy minister. He was author of the law on political parties; he was B. N. Yeltsin's campaign organizer in the 1991 presidential elections; and he also flew to Foros to bring back Gorbachev. Finally, he is chairman of the Russian Republican Party and a member of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin [Yabloko, or the "Apple" referred to in headline] bloc council and, naturally, a candidate deputy for the State Duma in the Northern district of Moscow. We have known each other for more than 20 years and therefore it was much easier to talk with him.

[Bogomolov] Volodya, why has your name not been included in the bloc's "banner?" Is it that you are not prominent enough?

[Lysenko] I do not think so; the fact is that our bloc consists of three separate politicians and three political parties, and if we were to enumerate all the leaders or those who think of themselves as such in its name, we would have not a name but a huge list. We tried the name Yabloko, but somehow it did not catch on; so, we had to settle on "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin."

[Bogomolov] And what parties are affiliated with the bloc?

[Lysenko] The social democrats, the Russian Christian Democratic Party, and the Russian Republican Party.

[Bogomolov] Yet the republicans are certainly playing a leading role.

[Lysenko] Yes, our party is perhaps the most stable. In the past three years our membership has been in the area of 5,500, and this is in 65 regions, while our local structures are perhaps the most diversified among all the parties.

[Bogomolov] And you also raised signatures for the bloc?

[Lysenko] Russian Republican Party structures have raised 80 percent of the signatures. Republicans comprise approximately two- thirds of our slate.

[Bogomolov] Now, you are leader of the Russian Republican Party; what about Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, and Lukin? With which parties are they affiliated?

[Lysenko] As they say, this is an interesting question. In his time Boldyrev suddenly appeared on the rostrum of the 28th CPSU Congress and joined the Democratic Platform which I headed, but then he sort of "vanished into thin air." Subsequently he developed a strong aversion to any parties, party discipline, and any obligations before the existing public structures. Yavlinskiy and Lukin, too, are "nonpartisan" politicians.

[Bogomolov] Well then, how are you getting along together?

[Lysenko] Of course, there are some differences in views. Boldyrev, for instance, holds a very tough position on the draft constitution, and opposes its adoption. Lukin, Sheynis, and I believe that in spite of a whole number of inconsistencies, it must be adopted because it lays down a firm foundation for federalism. If the draft is defeated, this

will be an expression of mistrust in the president and a return to 21 September. But these disagreements are not crucial.

[Bogomolov] In the past we had one "unshakeable bloc of communists and nonparty people" and today there is a multitude of them. What sets yours apart from them?

[Lysenko] Indeed, very many blocs have appeared, not only political ones but also ecological, women's, youth's, pensioners', and so forth.... As for our bloc's program, we believe that the time of revolutionary moves, explosive methods and head-on attacks on the economy and social problems is gone, but at the same time we favor a deep economic restructuring. If this does not happen, all attempts to stabilize the financial and credit system will be useless and hyper-inflation will ruin us. We are not happy with either the current methods of conducting the reforms nor their time frame.

[Bogomolov] Russia is a very big country and at present each region "is pulling the blanket over itself" both economically and politically. What does your bloc propose to counteract this division?

[Lysenko] We believe that a constitutional federation must be strengthened in every possible way and that it is necessary to say "no" to separatist trends. Russia is indeed a multi-ethnic state but one can no longer call into question the statehood that we have inherited from our forefathers; it must be preserved for posterity.

[Bogomolov] Volodya, our readers and your voters are often interested in the most sensitive issue—social policy....

[Lysenko] You must understand that social matters cannot be ignored. Of course, we realize that at the present time the state does not have the resources to help everybody. Therefore we advocate a targeted social policy so that aid should reach primarily those who need it most—pensioners, invalids, and large families. Furthermore, household incomes must be hedged against inflation, and bank deposit interest rates must be brought to a level exceeding price growth.

[Bogomolov] Today much is being written and said about fighting crime, mafia, corruption....

[Lysenko] When Rutskoy presented the Supreme Soviet with his "eleven suitcases" of evidence, the shadow of the mafia became almost a factor in the entire state practice.

We propose the creation of real professional law enforcement bodies. The Internal Affairs Ministry and the Security Ministry should be maintained at such a material and technical level that would exclude the possibility of corruption and the criminals' superiority in technical equipment.

[Bogomolov] There is also much talk about the democratic blocs fielding common candidates in the elections....

[Lysenko] Currently quadrilateral talks are under way with the participation of Yavlinskiy, Gaydar, Shakhray, and Sobchak aimed at defining candidates in territorial constituencies for the State Duma that the democratic blocs could support. Russia's Choice has proposed a list of 15 names, but not all of them suit us because there are people whose views are too radical. Yavlinskiy proposed that in those constituencies where communists or national patriots have strong positions, the democrats should field just one candidate.

[Bogomolov] And finally, how many votes do you hope to poll in the elections?

[Lysenko] We expect to get not less than 10 percent. This will be a minimum success for us.

Media Issues

SEGODNYA Begins Daily Publication

MK0712093093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 89, 7 Dec 93 (Signed to press 7 Dec) p 1

[Chief editor Dmitriy Ostalskiy report: "Today and Every Day"]

[Text] Thus, SEGODNYA becomes a daily. True, to publish daily for a Russian newspaper means to appear five days a week. Post office workers religiously stick to the letter and spirit of the Labor Law Code and have two days off, the same as most other citizens. In other words, whatever happens in the wide world, the newspaper cannot be delivered to its subscribers either Sundays or Mondays, neither can it be available through retail trade in other cities. It is, of course, possible (and this is being done by some publications) to bring out Sunday and Monday editions to be sold on Moscow streets, but such special editions would rather resemble city supplements than full-blown issues of a paper devoted to news.

Still, while the dream of being a daily newspaper—in the direct meaning of the word—remains a dream, let us talk of what you, respected readers, can expect to see in our newspaper on Monday through Saturday.

Those who subscribe to our newspaper or who regularly buy it will have noticed that it has had 16 pages. In the coming months it will also appear on 16 pages Tuesdays and Saturdays. SEGODNYA will have 12 pages the rest of the days of the week. The BUSINESS supplement will continue to appear Tuesdays as before. In the present issue you will find on the accustomed pages the sections "Arts," "Opinions" (the latter section will be next to or alternate with the sections "Impressions" and "Times"). The sports page will be appearing in the coming weeks Tuesdays and Saturdays (and a bit later, in every issue). Saturday's issues will bring you a television guide for the coming week, and the "Fashion" and "Religion" pages. The "Science-Man-Environment" page will usually appear Thursdays. You will see the "Foreign Policy" section on page 3, Wednesdays and Fridays.

As for the newspaper's regular sections "Politics/Economy," "Abroad," "In the Meantime," "Tomorrow"

(the last page), as well as "Arts" and "Opinions," they will be offered for your attention in every (with rare exceptions) issue.

Until tomorrow.

Journalists Banned From TV To Sue Ostankino Chief

MK0712140093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 14

[Andrey Titov report: "Vid Members Turn to Prosecutor's Office for Protection. 'Ostankino' Chairman Accused of Breaking Law"]

[Text] Aleksandr Lyubimov and Aleksandr Politkovskiy, members of the Vid television company, sent a joint statement yesterday to General Prosecutor Aleksey Kazannik. The journalists believe that their taking off the air was illegal, and they demand that Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company, be brought to account in court.

The statement says that despite a contract between Vid and "Ostankino" "on the joint production of telecasts," the "Red Square" and "Politburo" programs have been taken off the television schedule and have not been planned for next year. Messrs. Lyubimov and Politkovskiy have not received any written notice on the reasons for the sanctions. The journalists see actions of Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the "Ostankino" company, who authorized taking the telecasts off the air, as violating the Law on the Press (Article 140 (1) of the Russian Federation Criminal code, "Hindering Lawful Professional Activity of Television Journalists"). "Ostankino" chiefs would not comment on the goings-on, saying they have other business to attend to. According to reports received by KOMMERSANT- DAILY, however, the main argument of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company—a decision by the "Ostankino" board of directors on canceling the telecasts—is not legally binding because the board is a consultative body that may not rule on banning television programs.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin To Rule on Privatization in Moscow

MK0712095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 89, 7 Dec 93 (Signed to press 6 Dec) p 3

[Unattributed report: "Edict on Special Nature of Privatization in Moscow Prepared"]

[Text] Oleg Tolkachev, prefect of the Southern administrative district and member of the Moscow government, said that the Russian Federation president would personally decide on the privatization of the capital's 10 greatest enterprises. According to Mr. Tolkachev, this edict has already been prepared and submitted to Boris Yeltsin; presently it has been under discussion with lawyers, chiefs of the Moscow government, and directors of Moscow enterprises. The president has agreed to consider the privatization program of 10 or 12 of Moscow's largest enterprises once Yuriy Luzhkov presents their privatization plans. The prefect stressed that the Moscow government sees privatization as beneficial only if it does not lead to a halt in production or city's municipal systems.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Gas Supply

LD0712201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1817 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Today, the Russian president's press service announced that Boris Yeltsin had signed an edict "On the provision of reliable gas supplies to consumers by the Russian joint stock company Gazprom in the years 1994-1996."

For the purpose of the Russian joint stock company Gazprom's ensuring reliable gas supplies to consumers, the accelerated opening-up of new deposits of natural gas, and increasing Russia's export potential, the edict says, the Russian joint stock company Gazprom (RAO Gazprom) is to be defined as the state client for deliveries of natural gas for export, including for state needs.

Under the edict, the Ministry of the Economy is requested to allocated RAO Gazprom a quota for exportation of natural gas to countries not part of the former Soviet Union in 1994 amounting to 116,800 million cubic meters, including taking into account regional quotas of 4.4 billion cubic meters, and taking into account export quotas of oil industry enterprises amounting to 1.3 billion cubic meters.

The edict says that the Ministry of the Economy should establish for RAO Gazprom quotas for export of natural gas to countries not part of the former Soviet Union for the years 1995-1996 in volumes envisaged by the intergovernmental agreements and contracts, and also allocate the regional quotas and export quotas of oil industry enterprises.

The edict establishes that of the overall volume of natural gas exports to countries not part of the former Soviet Union after meeting commitments for regional quotas and export quotas of oil industry enterprises, the proportion meeting the federal state needs comprises 50 percent, and the proportion for the needs of the gas industry comprises 50 percent.

At the same time, the proportion meeting the federal state needs includs deliveries under state credit agreements, deliveries of gas in transit through the territories of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania for federal state needs, and also under separate arrangements by the relevant state bodies.

The edict also requires the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations to issue the foreign economic enterprise Gazexport and RAO Gazprom with licences for the exportation to countries not part of the former Soviet Union of natural gas under the quotas meeting the federal state needs, the regional quotas, and the quotas of enterprises of the gas and oil industry.

The edict establishes that for exports of natural gas under federal needs, out of the foreign currency earnings, RAO Gazprom is to be paid monthly in rubles for 1,000 cubic meters of gas, a sum equivalent to $30 at the rate of the Russian Central Bank on the day of payment, and also expenses connected with the transportation of this gas through the territories of Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova.

The edict releases RAO Gazprom from payment of import customs dues on equipment, materiel, and other goods purchased for the maintenance and development of the gas industry. And for the purpose of normalization of accounts for gas, the edict requests the Russian State Committee for Economic Cooperation with the Commonwealth Member States to consider RAO Gazprom's proposal to reduce the prices of gas delivered to CIS countries, with a corresponding reduction in the sum of payments for transit of gas supplied to countries not part of the former Soviet Union via the territory of those states.

Finance Minister Fedorov on Economic Issues

LD0712093093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1210 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Studio interview with Finance Minister Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov by Natalya Bekhtina; from the "Author's Channel" program—live]

[Text] [Bekhtina] Today's Author's Channel is extremely packed, so although I am fond of forewords and quotations, today I will make do without a foreword, as our long-awaited guest is already in the studio. I think our meeting will be of interest to all Russia's Radio listeners. He is Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov, the Russian Federation finance minister. Good afternoon, Boris Grigoryevich.

[Fedorov] Good afternoon.

[Bekhtina] I am expecting a barrage of questions from Russia's Radio listeners, and I will read our telephone numbers, although there is no special need even for that because everyone knows our telephone numbers by heart—215 22 29, 215 07 64. You can call those numbers to put your questions to the Russian Federation finance minister.

I would like to start our conversation with a small epigraph. True, I said I would not be citing any quotations, but here is one nevertheless. Mikhail Matveyevich Stasyulevich, editor and publisher of the HERALD OF EUROPE journal and one of the best-known Russian public figures of the 19th century, once wrote the following: Any state in which the administration takes upon itself the chewing of another's food, as a wet-nurse does for a newborn baby, in which the government is known as a wet-nurse and benefactor, will always remain in a state of childhood. Such is the law of history. Do you agree that the government cannot be a nurse to all citizens of the state of Russia in particular?

[Fedorov] I totally agree with that quotation. Basically we are now going through a transitional period between the old system and the new one. Under the old system the entire economy was like a big factory with one big director who told everybody how much of what to make and who set prices and wages. Everybody was a small cog in that huge mechanism. We are now moving toward a civilized state in which the state, the government, and parliament have a quite definite function—to create a conducive environment in which human beings can live. Well, there is also defense and the need to protect the weak, pay pensions, and so on. That is why taxes are collected. But this is a system in which the state will no longer lead everybody by the hand, in which virtually all enterprises must be independent. Even if they remain in state ownership under some form of joint-stock arrangement, they must still operate as normal agents of this market economy. They must pay their own way, think for themselves.

This is a painful process. It is very difficult to make the psychological adjustment from a system in which you know that everything can be blamed on the government to a system in which you have to think for yourself, pay your own way, improve quality, and raise productivity. This is a formula which was developed as long ago as the 19th century. It still works.

[Bekhtina] Sociological surveys show that Radio Russia's listeners are people who are slightly older than 30 and very much in the middle income group. So, I would like our conversation today to dwell on, maybe, purely practical, specific things, things which, unfortunately, are not a very strong suit for our citizens. We view certain problems in a very superficial and uninformed way. Let's start with something which is very much on people's minds at the moment—the recent prestrike alert at our northern mines, the ones in the Vorkuta coalfield. I get letters from various people. No doubt you get your salary punctually every month, they write. How would you like it if you were not paid for four months on end, like us in the north? You would not be too happy about it. So, why doesn't the government pay the miners their wages? The miners are threatening the government with a strike and demanding that all the arrears be paid. Why has this state of affairs come about?

[Fedorov] First of all, one must bear in mind that it isn't the government that pays the miners' wages. It's a matter of subsidies. And subsidies and wages are somewhat different things. Coal prices used to be frozen and large sums in subsidies built up. Given the state of collapse of our budget and the lack of financial discipline in the state—which is the biggest problem of all, in my opinion—you get a situation where delays do occur and the subsidies don't come through. The subsidies account for part of the wages, naturally, so there are two issues in the given situation. It is absolutely correct that if the state promises something then it should honor that promise, and here the miners' demands are quite just and the state should meet them. The fact that the state shouldn't promise something that it cannot deliver is another matter. This is something which happens all the time in our country. But there is a different aspect to the problem if it is not the state sector, in the direct sense, not a state-financed organization, and the

state is not the sole source of resources for the miners. Why are vast quantities of coal being shipped when they already know that they won't be paid for them?

Why is there no lowering of prices, in spite of the fact that reserves are overstocked to three times the normal level, even though we know that in a normal market economy it is better to sell today with a 30 percent discount...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] And earn at least something?

[Fedorov] And earn something, than to wait, say, three months for a subsidy. So while there are problems which the government is specifically to blame for, there is also a problem with the fact that the directors especially—obviously it isn't the business of every ordinary miner who probably does his job no worse than a miner in the West—the directors of very many enterprises around the country have not yet fully understood where they are, that they have to operate differently here, that it is time for them to stop talking about statewide interests at directorial level, that they have to look after their own enterprises, their own collectives, their own pockets. And that if they don't get paid, they shouldn't deliver. And that it is time to stop counting on the state, because the people who count on the state in the current situation lose out, in the majority of cases. The people who count on their own efforts quite often gain.

In this sense, only the people who start making real efforts to increase their own productiveness, to get orders which can be paid for, to cut their costs, can escape from this situation. It makes me very sad when I meet good producers, practitioners—you know, they are often compared, the theoreticians and the practitioners, the pragmatists. Well, I always reply: Which practice do they know? Soviet practice, or market practice? Often a good producer who knows everything about engineering, all the parts, all the processes, doesn't know how to sell. He doesn't know how to count money. He doesn't know what needs to be done in this situation. He talks constantly about state interests, as if he were a member of the government.

Join the government, I always tell this type of person. In principle we have lots of vacancies. This applies to the Ministry of Finance as well. But if you stay where you are, you must get on with your job. You must know what needs doing, what doesn't need doing, how many employees you need, what your energy consumption should be, what your reserves are, why you have borrowed so much credit to maintain those reserves. You must decide whether this output will be needed in the future. Is there a demand for it or not? If not, then you must do something about it urgently. But this inertia is continuing, unfortunately.

[Bekhtina] I know that many of our listeners may be wondering about one thing in this connection. Very many people have been employed at, for example, enterprises of the military-industrial sector. We already know that in the old days our entire country was, by and large, one big defense enterprise. But in addition to these defense enterprises, there are also space industry enterprises which, although they could produce competitive goods, now find their funding frozen. People receive low wages. This real potential is wasted for no good reason. What can be done about that?

[Fedorov] In the first place, one must be honest. We have already mouthed quite enough populist slogans about conversion and other things.

[Bekhtina] Yes.

[Fedorov] Basically, when this state order came up, people were told that they would be supported, that everything would be done, come what may. We did not tell them honestly that in this field orders would stop, because we don't need so many tanks and other types of armaments. Because of this people were left dangling on a hook. They hung there for several years, waiting for things to sort themselves out, and so on, without making any effort to move in a different direction. We need to say clearly what will remain of the defense sector, tell them what the state will pay for, no matter what happens. So, there was this debate about the defense order. Let's specify a hard figure, even if it's not a very big one, even if it's a minimum one, I always say. Otherwise you mislead people so badly and make so many promises which you cannot fund.

In those cases where it is obvious that defense output of this kind is no longer needed, one must create the conditions for conversion, for real restructuring of production. There are dozens of instances of this. For instance, I was in Udmurtia and some other places. Many directors come here. Clearly, gigantic progress has already been made. Defense orders have been reduced there from 80 or 100 percent of total output to 5 or 10 percent. This is a very painful process. The workforce is having to be reduced. People are sometimes forced to do less skilled work than they would like. To a large extent this is inevitable, because the state has not managed to draw up a clearcut program for conversion, geared to each individual enterprise. But I cannot say much about this, unfortunately, because it is not my sphere.

I think that in 1994 we will incorporate sums for conversion programs—in the budget any way—in order to ensure that good projects in this sphere receive state support, soft credit, loans from the budget basically, charged at 10 percent interest. Because it is clear that in this area the state bears the responsibility and has an obligation to assist. But the precise figures must be worked out, so that nobody expects manna from heaven. If you don't figure in this program, you should be told. But, unfortunately, we have misled people quite often.

[Bekhtina] What do you mean by harsh financial discipline, the discipline which we so lack? Does it simply mean paying taxes on time and in full?

[Fedorov] No, I have in mind first and foremost—if it was only a question of paying taxes, this would be fine. That problem exists everywhere, in any country. The biggest problem is the lack of financial discipline on the part of the state, the constant adoption of decisions for which there is no money. People are very fond of making comparisons. Take postwar Japan, take Germany, take Erhard, take

Korea, and so on. But we are the only developed country—I consider that we are a developed country—which still lives by emission. Since World War II there has not been a developed or even a half-developed country which has financed its budget deficit through the Central Bank.

[Bekhtina] What do you mean by emission? Let's explain this concept since I'm not at all sure that everybody knows precisely what it means.

[Fedorov] Emission is when the Central Bank creates money out of nothing, figuratively speaking.

[Bekhtina] The mint prints bank notes.

[Fedorov] Well, the money can be in the form of paper or it can be in a nonpaper form, a noncash form. But, even so, this is money which the state creates out of nothing. There are no other countries which finance their deficit in this way. We are, basically, the only large state which operates in this way. The results are obvious: high inflation, all that chaos which we have in our financial system. So, as long as the state goes on living beyond its means... [pauses] What do we mean when we talk about living within our means? It means living off the revenue which we receive. Everybody is familiar with the situation.

[Bekhtina] Of course. Everybody has a family budget.

[Fedorov] If you receive a wage, you must live within it. Or else you can live within whatever you can borrow. If you are able to borrow, it is because you can be trusted.

[Bekhtina] People know that you can repay the debt.

[Fedorov] Naturally. Every specific individual can borrow from a neighbor or a colleague or go to a bank. Either he will be a person who is trusted, somebody who is well known, or he will have to justify his loan to the bank, convince the bank that he will pay it back, that he has resources, that he has sources of income. But our state does not live that way. The state reckons that you can make any number of political decisions, then the Finance Ministry will find ways of funding them, will get the money out of the Central Bank. That is our worst habit. There are too many political factors in our country. They prevail over financial considerations. The result is an imbalance of revenue and expenditure and a huge budget deficit, which we are trying to reduce. But in trying to reduce it, we are not eliminating the entire problem—because the deficit is still not financed correctly. But who these days will trust a state which withdraws bank notes and replaces them, one which fails to meet its commitments?

This is the key problem, and it lies at the center, it's not a problem in a region, for example, because a region lives according to its means, it lives according to how much money it has, it doesn't issue money. But at the center uncivilized methods have developed. Unfortunately, there are many supporters of such a policy. I always compare this, a kind of image, with trying to inflate a ball with a pump.

[Bekhtina] I suppose it will burst.

[Fedorov] It will burst. And if it bursts, then there will be hyperinflation. You can say that hyperinflation is 50 percent a month, or 60 percent. It is the process when it becomes uncontrollable—and we have the example of Ukraine, where this has happened, where there have been kind people, where they have constantly raised wages, pensions, and handed out credit on advantageous terms by printing money. And as a result, a total collapse of the economy. I feel very sorry for Ukraine, because they are our brothers and sisters, of course, but nevertheless, they are providing us with an example of what will happen to us if we change the policy of financial stabilization.

[Bekhtina] You said that the regions live according to their means. If we take this expression literally, then there is no problem of inflationary processes in the regions. It is exactly the same situation there, it does not mean that prices are only rising in the large central cities, while in the localities they remain...

[Fedorov, interrupting] Yes, but the source of the inflation is the center. That is, there are many causes of inflation, we often argue about that, the monetary or nonmonetary nature of inflation. It is clear that you can guarantee 75 percent that it is monetary. But all of these causes lie mainly at the center, because the Central Bank is at the center, because the budget deficit is at the center. The budget deficits in the localities are still financed at the expense of the central government, that is, there is a link. And this is where it all stems from. That is, the absence of a sufficiently tough financial policy leads to a situation in every corner of our country in which people go to the shops and every day there are different prices, and when they are told that, say, like today, the minimum is raised by a factor of 1.9, I can assure you that within two months everyone will feel that it is already eroded. Because we just cannot stop this surge.

[Bekhtina] Well, how can I put it? It is a simple decision, we should not raise minimum wages by a factor of 1.9. We had hardly started talking when our listeners, catching this information in the newscast, were already ringing us here in the studio and asking: How is that? Does it mean that the presidential wages are going up by 1.9, and ministerial wages? But what about pensioners? Well, here people for some reason always refer only to pensioners because they are considered the worst-off, although I think there are poorer people than pensioners...

[Fedorov, interrupting] There are often people who get less than pensioners.

[Bekhtina] So can this problem be solved in some way? Not to raise wages by 1.9, not to index them, but, say, really pay some kind of sensible compensation. Or simply stop wage rises until we can restrain this process.

[Fedorov] We are talking about the public finance sphere. It is obvious that this 1.9 does not apply to those who are not dependent on public funds. That is one thing. Second, the matter of scale. It is clear that inflation is consuming us and there must be regular increases of some kind—because we have so much inflation still. But increases cannot

outstrip inflation. It is obvious that prices have not gone up by a factor of 1.9 since the previous increase—the rise has been somewhat lower. In any case, this kind of indexation, when people try to raise their standard of living by indexation, has never raised the standard of living anywhere, in any country. So, I would think that we could increase payments today by a factor of 1.5 or 1.6. But not from 1 December because we quite clearly do not have the funds in the December budget. It must start on 21 January. So there will be a delay. You see, we still want to give good news of some kind...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] Yes, but there must be realistic grounds for it.

[Fedorov] Yes. The main thing is reducing expenditure, reducing public spending on subsidies used for various things which are not state functions.

[Bekhtina] I think we have already answered some of our listeners' questions and there will now, as planned, be a short break in our conversation with Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov. [interview breaks for music]

Boris Grigoryevich, how do you feel after talking to the people [on the telephone]?

[Fedorov] Well, the questions were typical ones which are always asked. I will say something about them, perhaps. The most painful thing is, of course, the commodity obligations issued by the Union government, such as the "Harvest-90" vouchers, car vouchers, and so on. The second thing is deposits in the savings banks involving indexation and similar issues.

[Bekhtina] Can they be solved?

[Fedorov] As regards the various commodity obligations and so on, naturally these are obligations made by the state although I myself remember that four years ago when these things were discussed I personally spoke against them and when [Ivan] Silayev's government discussed the "Harvest-90" issue I was the only one to vote against. Nevertheless, these obligations must be fulfilled. In most cases, it is already impossible to fulfill them in the form of goods because the prices have gone up in incredible proportions. Clearly, this is unfair to a great degree in relation to those people who...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] Counted on them, worked and hoped.

[Fedorov] Well, for instance, they invested here while others made deposits in the savings bank. Why should they receive less? So here we are developing a scheme for paying compensation. Of course, this is not going to be full compensation, for it is clear that if a Zhiguli car already costs 13 million rubles [R] it is impossible to give full compensation. Nevertheless, we tried to do this this year, too, but the collapse of the budget prevented us from attaining this goal in full. But we are laying down a formula of compensation payment in the 1994 budget.

As for the savings, in my view, certain compensation should have been addressed at the time when prices were freed. Since this was not done, the government acknowledges this problem—and there was a special government meeting on this issue—and we are searching for a scheme to compensate at least partially. Clearly, full compensation to everybody [is impossible]. I think a minimum sum will be established, like R5,000 or R10,000 as was the case at the time, on 2 January 1992. And this sum will be index linked several- fold to compensate for the initial price hike, at least, because it is impossible to compensate for the entire 1992 inflation and other things.

Again, this subject was discussed, and the question comes down once more to one of money. That is, if there had been money in the budget, we would have done it ages ago. Nevertheless, we will now try to put it into the budget for 1994. The question of how to pay it in order not to make the situation worse—because in theory we could go and...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] Compensate everybody?

[Fedorov] ...to the Central Bank and say: Give us R13 trillion and give it to everybody. But naturally, in that case prices would rise by a factor of n, and...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] Everybody will be standing beside a broken trough, won't they?

[Fedorov] ...and again the question will come up: Let us compensate the loss in value of savings from, let us say, 6 December 1993. So it is an endless process. Nevertheless, I consider that the question itself has been put completely fairly, and it is natural that when the state undertakes reforms it has a duty to think through the consequences. We will have to find these funds. Thee were some options, for example giving it to pensioners. But it is very difficult to check, because there is such a huge number of accounts. Many of them have three or five accounts. So some sort of minimal amount for deposit to accounts, especially small deposits, will have to be made, even though this will not satisfy anybody completely. That is what I can say on this issue.

[Bekhtina] There were other issues, of a general nature, which could interest a broader audience. Or maybe each of these private stories...

[Fedorov interrupts] Well, mainly these are individual issues. Someone criticizes, someone else does not agree, some people think this is being done specially to create a country with millions of destitute people...

[Bekhtina] Incidentally, that issue, excuse me, in so far as it concerns, or rather was put forward, in hundreds, perhaps even without exaggerating thousands, of letters which I have been receiving recently, it is a constant refrain, so to speak, in these letters: We have turned into a nation of destitute people. Do you agree with this, and is it possible for us now to even just a little bit dispel this impression, somehow to destroy it, so that we won't after all turn into a country of unanimously destitute people?

[Fedorov] I think we were a country of destitutes in the fifties, sixties, seventies, and eighties. There are various degrees of destititution. Endless lines, fewer and fewer

goods in the shops—I don't remember that from the fifties but I remember what there was in the sixties and how it changed in the seventies, and what happened in the eighties, the empty shops, the crushes, the rudeness and crudeness, the ever more dirty streets.

I, personally, was not able to buy a car even before the perestroyka era. I, personally, was unable to accumulate such a huge sum of money then either. And, when I was buying a cooperative apartment, for instance, I had to borrow money for the deposit from all of my relatives.

[Bekhtina] From all of them, yes...

[Fedorov, interrupting] And I remember it was almost impossible to save the money for furniture then. Well, I worked in a state establishment and I did not hold particularly high posts. So I would not agree that our country has been deliberately reduced to poverty over the past few years. The progress of the reforms, how quickly, how consistently, how rationally and how professionally they have progressed, is another matter. The outcome also depends on this. I can assure you that if inflation is high the country will turn into a country of rich and poor. This is a characteristic of all countries which have gone through hyperinflation. The middle stratum, the middle class disappears.

[Bekhtina] And we are putting so much into creating one...

[Fedorov, interrupting] Of course. It is the key class on which society should be based, its backbone. We cannot all be rich, we cannot all be poor, but the basis of society, 50 percent of the country, should fall within the middle bands. We are destroying it. Things will be like they are in Brazil and many other countries where there are skyscrapers, magnificent villas alongside slums where people live in boxes...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] And villas and so on.

[Fedorov] And so on and so forth. This will happen if we do not have consistent policies. I think all sensible people understand that there have not been any such consistent policies over the past two years—and even before this. There has been no real economic policy since perestroyka began in 1985. There was the struggle against drunkenness, the battle against this and that. But real decisions were not made. And the reforms began with that terribly brave decision, the total freeing of prices, which was largely taken because it had to be since the step-by-step approaches taken before this had already exhausted themselves, and the country was on the verge of catastrophe because of the foreign debt and the freezing of accounts, the shops were completely empty, the currency rate was falling and inflation was soaring and communications were falling apart, the Union was disintegrating.

The situation is different today. The shops are full but there is little money. This means that the market economy has started to function. There are now incentives to work, the more you earn the more you can buy. I remember well how we discussed as children whether anyone needed a million rubles—could you spend it in our country—and most children always agreed that it would not be possible.

[Bekhtina] It was too much.

[Fedorov] Yes, it was too much and there was nothing to buy anyway.

So, it all depends on whether we can proceed in a civilized fashion, on the extent to which we can clear out this disorderly mess which forces us, basically, to spend more time on political struggle than on specific, day-to-day work. 1993 was a year during which a large number of important decisions were made. They may not have attracted much attention but they are absolutely fundamental to the market economy. No further revolutionary change is needed, basically. What we have to do now is to establish a proper civil service which works. We have to encourage enterprise. We must allow enterprising people to push ahead. It will be very annoying if, in spite of everything, we fail to achieve stabilization, bring inflation down, and get investment going. We have spoken here about savings. It can be summed up in the following phrase: If the public are not encouraged to save, if savings do not grow, the economy won't grow either. Those are the criteria which I would apply.

[Bekhtina] While we have been talking here about purely economic problems, serious as they are, another question has been brought to me. This is a question addressed personally to you. Do you have any real estate?

[Fedorov, hesitating] No.

[Bekhtina] What, in your view, is the subsistence minimum? That is a question from Anna Ivanovna, a Muscovite.

[Fedorov] I can't give you a precise figure. I merely read what the papers say—about R47,000 or R50,000 has been mentioned recently as far as Moscow is concerned. I don't have any other figures. I think people should realize that minimum wages or hourly rates bear very little relation to real life. Every city has its own subsistence minimum. Moscow is the most expensive city—well, the north is, perhaps, even more expensive.

[Bekhtina] Yes, the north is more expensive.

[Fedorov] It is more expensive there, perhaps. But, in principle, Moscow is the most expensive place, in comparable terms. The state's main concern must be to ensure that nobody falls below a certain level. This must be defined in some kind of scientific way. But I personally believe that we should not try so hard to create the impression that we don't have unemployment, that people all live normal lives. It is better for us to have an extra million unemployed so long as the problem is out in the open. Then we can fight this disease.

[Bekhtina] I notice, in general, that you spell out the issues in very stark terms. You strive, as it were, to ensure that we do not harbor any illusions or misleading ideas in any sphere whatsoever.

[Fedorov] I consider that lying is the most dangerous characteristic of government bureaucrats, of the government itself. It is better to say right out that you do not have money, rather than to foster illusions. Too often in the past we have said that we would do one thing, then done something else. We swore blind that there would not be any reform of the currency, then we went ahead and did it. We say we are going to do one thing, then we go and do something completely different. We promise that certain subsidies will be paid, and so on, knowing full well that there is no money for them.

[Bekhtina] Today's interview with Boris Fedorov, the Russian Federation's minister of finance, is now drawing to a close. I think there is a conclusion which can be drawn from it. This man does not intend to make any empty promises. He invites us to live within our means, to take a sober and realistic look at life, to avoid harboring any great illusions—and not to panic, I hope. Am I right?

[Fedorov] There must be no panic. We live in a great state which has a great future.

[Bekhtina] Thank you for taking part in our Author's Channel; From the First Person. I hope we will have another opportunity to meet our listeners over the air. I wish you success in your undertakings.

[Fedorov] Thank you.

Fedorov on Budget Deficit, Ruble Exchange Rate

LD0712171393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The economic situation in Russia was the theme of a news conference held today by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. Here's our correspondent Regina Lukashina:

[Lukashina] There has been absolutely no increase in the size of the budget deficit, Boris Fedorov said. As the government predicted, the deficit currently stands at 5.5 trillion rubles. Inflation in November was from 11 to 15 percent, according to various calculations. The finance minister said that this points to the beginning of stabilization and that on the whole, the figures for the year can be viewed optimistically.

Commenting on the presidential decree restricting the activities of foreign banks in Russia, Boris Fedorov confirmed that it has inflicted little damage in practice because most foreign banks have not had time to develop large-scale operations in Russia. Besides, in all justice, we get more discrimination than invitations in the West.

Replying to journalists' questions about to what extent the government is in control of strengthening the ruble, Boris Fedorov said the following:

[Begin Fedorov recording] There is even a danger of the ruble becoming too strong. As during the summer, we are not trying to, for example, hold it at 1,000 [to the dollar]. We could make it 500 if we sold everything at once. Therefore, any hundreds of millions of dollars that might come on the market between now and the end of the year from state sources are not the Central Bank's money but the government's money. The exchange rate will gradually improve as inflation inches downward, but I don't, for example, foresee it being better than 1,250 by the end of the year.

Of course, if Zhirinovskiy or Zyuganov win the elections, say they score 90 percent of the votes to parliament, then I think that the market will definitely react. [end recording]

Anticipates Improvement in Economy

LD0712163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov is optimistic about the future of the country and said that the "economic situation in Russia will considerably improve in 1994".

"The coming year will become a year of investments and restructuring", he told reporters on Tuesday.

According to Fedorov, President Yeltsin would sign a decree soon approving the budegt deficit for the fourth quarter of the year at 5.5 trillion roubles which coincides with government targets.

Fedorov said his optimism is also based on decreased inflation which comprised 15 per cent in November compared to 20-25 per cent in previous months. Industrial slump rate stalled at the 12 per cent level and the rouble remains stable against the dollar.

"The finance minister acts according to instructions of the prime minister", Fedorov said.

He hinted that he still wants to take over the foreign debt negotiating duties from Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin. "It is to be remembered that problems linked with the Russian foreign debt are in the jurisdiction of the Finance Ministry by 90 per cent", the minister said.

Russian mass media reported that Fedorov had already taken over the foreign debt negotiating duties from Shokhin, but the latter denied the allegations. However, he admitted that Fedorov wanted to do that and accused him of "personal ambitions".

Dwelling on relations with international financial institutions, Fedorov said a meeting with them will be held in Paris in Decemnber where the economic situation in Russia will be discussed. He added that he was convinced that Russia would soon get the second part of the credit from the International Monetary Fund.

Fedorov 'Fairly Optimistic' on Economic Prospects

PM0812125593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Igor Petrov: "Population's Income Has Increased by 10 Percent in Real Terms. But Finance Minister Is Not Rejoicing"]

[Text] Finance Minister Boris Fedorov has held a meeting at the "Hammer and Sickle" plant with directors of enterprises located in Moscow's southwestern electoral district where he is running as a candidate for the State Duma. And although B. Fedorov himself intends to stand as a parliamentary candidate from the "Russia's Choice" bloc, those attending the meeting saw him primarily as leader of the financial department. Their conversation therefore immediately dropped from the heights of politics to the bedrock of economic realities.

In B. Fedorov's assessment, 1993 has passed without any radical changes in the economy. Shock therapy has not taken place. In July this year, the vice premier believes, financial and therefore economic stabilization was possible in Russia, but generous credit injections literally caused the budget to explode.

B. Fedorov described the continuing decline in production (down 12 percent over the year) coupled with the simultaneous increase in the population's income in real terms (up 10 percent over the same period) as a worrying fact. The finance minister is also alarmed by the growth of hidden unemployment, which, in his assessment, currently stands at 8-9 million. In his opinion, bringing hidden unemployment into the open would enable the government to make a correct diagnosis and find possible cures for this ailment.

B. Fedorov's forecasts for 1994 are fairly optimistic. He conjectures that the decline in production will amount to just 5-6 percent, whereas prices will triple at the most.

Military Issues

Shakhray Comments on Use of Troops in Hotspots

LD0712174793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0415 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Excerpts] In Russia's political and state circles, discussion of the main provisions of the military doctrine of the Russian Federation continues, especially the section proposing the use of Russia's Armed Forces in the resolution of certain internal problems. This is how Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray assesses the possibility of the use of armed forces and the military's responsibility for this:

[Begin Shakhray recording] The goal of the interim administration in the emergency area of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict is a political solution. I signed the necessary document. The military should be relieved of the idea that depending on how they act they will be later either brought to book for the political side of the question or showered with awards. It is a matter of principle. The political solution, political responsibility is for the politicians. [passage omitted]

Second, with regard to bringing in the army to carry out internal political tasks, the military doctrine does not contain any unambiguous solution. Moreover, it contains a provision saying that if interethnic or regional conflicts inside the Russian state cannot be resolved with the aid of the security forces and internal troops, and there arises a real threat to the state as such, the integrity of the state, then the army cannot remain on the sidelines. Because if there is no state, there is no army. The army of what state? Splinters? Here too there should be complete clarity. [end recording]

Air Defense Commander on Missile, Space Troops

LD0712233293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1930 GMT 7 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Defense Ministry]

[Text] Reforming Russia's Armed Forces does not just mean cuts in their numbers and the optimization of defense expenditure. Time insistently requires the creation of a new structure in the Army in order to secure the country against any unexpected happenings. This explains the setting up of the Russian Missile and Space Defense Troops [Voyska Raketno-Kosmicheskoy Oborony Rossii]. General Viktor Prudnikov, the commander in chief of the Russian Federation Air Defense Troops, will speak about the new troop arm in our broadcast.

[Begin Prudnikov recording] It is new, but at this stage it reflects the essence of the Air Defense Troops, of which the Missile and Space Defense Troops are a constituent part. The Missile and Space Troops themselves include the Missile, Space, and Air Attack Early Warning Troops [Voyska Preduprezhdeniya o Raketno-Kosmicheskom I Vozdushnom Napadenii]. The second element [of the Missile and Space Troops] is the system of direct missile and space defense and the space control system [sistema kontrolya kosmicheskogo prostranstva]. That is, this is a fairly powerful fragment that allows us quite responsibly to say that we really are monitoring space and the situation in space, we are following security issues from the viewpoint of early warning of missile attack, and if something like that should happen, we have a missile defense system at combat readiness in accordance with the 1972 agreement on carrying out these tasks. [end recording]

Financing of Arms Production Drops 9-Fold in 2 Years

LD0712184293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1548 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The Russian military-industrial complex has increased its civilian production to almost 80 per cent of its total output over the past three years, head of the Russian State Committee for Defence Industries Viktor Glukhikh told a congress on Russian economic reform and stabilization here today, when commenting on radical changes in the military-industrial complex.

The financing of arms production has dropped by nine times, the military order is fulfilled by no more than 10-15 per cent of the complex's production capacities. A program

to outline major areas of the complex's activities has been elaborated to preserve personnel and use the scientific-production potential.

In the words of Glukhikh, the implementation of 14 state conversion programs have begun in accordance with the government conversion program for 1993-1995. The program gives the priority to participatior of the defence industry in development of transport, communications, the fuel and energy complex, agriculture, consumer market, medicine and ecology.

Conversion could have brought better results if credits were issued timely and fully. Conversion costs much and it takes one rouble 20 kopecks to restructure one rouble worth of production.

Yeltsin Aide on Army Participation in Politics

LD0712202893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Servicemen should not run for the parliamentary elections. They are to mind their own business. This was announced by the Russian president's Military Aide Dmitriy Volkogonov, who commented on the fact that 25 servicemen had forwarded their candidacies to the Federal Assembly in an interview with INTERFAX on Tuesday.

The army should not participate in the struggle among the party blocs, Volkogonov emphasized. However, he pointed out that "the armed forces could not remain totally aloof from politics." In his opinion, the army is "a political instrument of the state and its utilization for performing interior functions is justified from the juridical point of view."

The army's deployment during the October events in Moscow was, in his words, "the only right decision." If only the interior forces had been used this would have made the Moscow rebellion last two or three days longer, which could have led to its transformation into a wide-scale conflict."

According to Volkogonov, the defense ministry must become civil. The Armed Forces' General Staff must control military issues. This will "provide for a broader state control over the armed forces," he remarked. However, he recognized that this transformation of the military department in the next few years was unreal.

"Now there is practically no threat of a world nuclear war. This allows Russia to focus on the settlement of domestic conflicts," Volkogonov said.

Defense Ministry, General Staff Face 30% Cut

MK0812090093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "A Third of the Generals Will Be Axed"]

[Text] Cuts in the central bodies of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and the General Staff are due to start on 1 January.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned from confidential sources close to chiefs of the armed forces that the cuts will, for an unaccountable reason, affect first and foremost combat directorates of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. For example, there will be cuts in the Main Operational Directorate and the Main Organizational-Mobilization Directorate. The former will be pared by 100 persons, the latter by 70 to 80. Also to be trimmed are the directorate of the chief of communications and the National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center. Both subdivisions will become leaner by approximately 30 percent.

Those structures unnecessary for troop control will remain unchanged—such as the Special Directorate of Experts, the Main Directorate for International Cooperation, the sports committee, the Directorate for Military Organizational Development and Reforms, the International Contractual Department, and so forth.

Also to undergo reorganization are the subdivisions of chiefs of combat arms. After the cuts end, out of the 8,000 servicemen in the central bodies of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff nearly 6,000 persons and approximately 300 generals should remain. These subdivisions now have 8,000 servicemen and 414 generals.

No Reduction in Defense Ministry Personnel Planned

LD0812080393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—No reduction of the personnel of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation and the General Staff is planned for the nearest future, the ministry's press and information department told ITAR-TASS.

Sources in the department added that in all other instances personnel cuts in the command of the Russian Armed Forces are proceeding in line with the general reduction of the number of personnel in the Army and the Navy.

Conference Discusses Army's Psychological Condition

PM0812103193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Popov: "A Strong Army Means a Spiritually Strong Army"]

[Text] A scientific and practical conference on "Moral and Psychological Condition of Personnel and Improvement of Educational Work in the Russian Federation Armed Forces" was held within the framework of a muster of Armed Forces leadership personnel to sum up the results of the training year. Its work was opened by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff.

The results of the training year in the Army and Navy, the series of major command and staff exercises, and the

combat practice of Russian units and subunits serving in "hot spots," Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov emphasized, have highlighted the exceptional urgency and importance of the question of what is known as the troops' spirit, their moral and psychological condition. The present and the past alike offer numerous examples of military contingents—psychologically tempered, spiritually staunch, and morally strong—performing the most complex tasks and defeating a numerically stronger but worse organized and unstable adversary. This gives us grounds to say that, despite all the complexity and diversity of questions which the Army has to resolve, man still is the main problem.

It is extremely difficult to solve it today. This is because today, probably like never before, the Army's spiritual sphere is subjected to the influence of the contradictory and negative processes occurring in society's life. But it is precisely this specific feature of the situation that forces us to think about improving and organizing the educational work. On the one hand, it must mitigate the consequences of sociopolitical cataclysms for the military and, on the other hand, it must imbue them with energy, temper them spiritually, and set their sights on performing the set tasks. It is no accident that Russia's military doctrine envisages the creation of precisely such a system of education.

This is why, Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov emphasized, it is proposed to look upon this scientific and practical conference as a constructive step in the quest for ways to streamline and improve educational work.

A report was then delivered by Col. Gen. Valeriy Mironov, Russian Federation deputy minister of defense. It was noted that, despite the economic and social difficulties being experienced by the Armed Forces and thanks to the work done by commanding officers and educational structures, servicemen maintain a relatively high standard of psychological staunchness. But the task is to regulate the moral and psychological condition of personnel and maintain it at a level which guarantees reliable performance of set tasks. Priority avenues were identified.

The main efforts must be aimed at preventing any artificial splitting of the unified process of training and education. Life, practice, and science have already proved convincingly and a long time ago that these two components are organically linked and intertwined, and their separation is unnatural. It is more important than ever before to take social factors into account during the work by leaders of all ranks to create economic and legal conditions which encourage active and responsible activity by servicemen. The fundamental task still is to improve the work with servicemen, members of their families, and civilian personnel and to elaborate a stable world outlook on the basis of ideas like statehood, patriotism, democracy, and professionalism.

When solving all these complex problems, Col. Gen. V. Mironov emphasized, it is necessary to grasp the main point: In the conditions of crisis and of weakening social, legal, and other guarantees and incentives for military labor, the personnel's moral spirit and psychological equilibrium become a most important factor in maintaining the combat readiness and combat ability of the Armed Forces. The task concerning moral and psychological backup for the Army and Navy is our common duty and our common concern which cannot be localized along link or service lines.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: Colonel General I. Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces; Admiral F. Gromov, commander in chief of the Navy; Colonel General Yu. Grekov, commander of the Ural Military District; Colonel General A. Sergeyev, commander of the Volga Military District; and Major General Yu. Ivanushkin, deputy commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces for work with the personnel.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Meets With Ingush, Osset Leaders in Nalchik

Regional Settlement Plan Approved

LD0712134593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The conference of leaders of the North Caucasus that was held Tuesday in Nalchik (Kabardino-Balkaria) under the chairmanship of Russian President Yeltsin, has adopted a statement that proposes the following to stabilize the situation in the region:

—Ingushetia should give up its territorial claims to North Ossetia;

—Vladikavkaz lifts its provision on the impossibility of Ossetians and Ingushis living together in the disputed zone;

—refugees should return to their homelands;

—military technology should be surrendered and illegal units of the conflicting sides disbanded;

In addition, it is also proposed that the federal authorities form their position toward the Chechen Republic since it is the main factor of instability in the North Caucasus.

The delegates also called for a dialog with all social and political movements of the North Caucasus. The Cossack movements must join the general social and political movement in line with the presidential decrees. It is also proposed to introduce legal responsibility for the stirring-up of inter-ethnic feuding no matter which side is the initiator.

The statement was signed by all delegates of the conference in Nalchik, including leaders of the North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Akhsarbek Galazov and Ruslan Aushev.

The spokesman for the Russian President, Vyacheslav Kostikov, has told INTERFAX that the Chechen leadership was not invited to attend the conference.

Yeltsin to Issue Edict on Refugees

LD0712134793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The Ingush refugees who left their homes in North Ossetia a year ago will return to 4 border regions before the spring of 1994. The first group of refugees will return to the village of Chermen, Boris Yeltsin said opening a conference with the North Caucasian leaders in Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria, on Tuesday.

The conference is attended by Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, Interior Minister Viktor Yerin and Secretary of the Russian Federation's Security Council Oleg Lobov.

Yeltsin also announced that he would pass a decree on return of the Ingush refugees to four villages the day after parliamentary elections.

Yeltsin urged all of the North Caucasian leaders to render North Ossetia and Ingushetia every possible assistance, warning them, however, that many problems might arise.

The beginning of the solution to these problems was laid out on December 6, he said. He also noted that during his meeting with the leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia on Monday, Akhsarbek Galazov and Ruslan Aushev had shaken hands and gave each other their words of honor. According to a Caucasian tradition, once you have shaken hands with someone, you will never quarrel with him, said Yeltsin.

To quote the president, on Monday refugees had asked him to accelerate their return. "We must think about this. Obviously all the refugees must return to their home places on the same day," said Boris Yeltsin.

He pointed out that the discussion of relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia went smoothly. The long drawn-out conflict must be solved, he said.

The conference continued behind closed doors.

Ingush President Praises Yeltsin

LD0712132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1235 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 7 TASS—The major result of the visit of Boris Yeltsin to the conflict zone in North Ossetia and Ingushetia is that "the wall of hostility began to melt" between the two republics which clashed in an inter-ethnic conflict, according to President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev.

He told TASS on Tuesday after seeing Yeltsin off to Moscow that the president "is resolute to return (Ingush) refugees to their homes" in four localities of the Prigorodniy District of North Ossetia. Aushev added that Yeltsin intends to adopt concrete decisions on the question soon. North Ossetian leaders could hardly welcome the resettlement as they fear new clashes may occur between Ossetians and Ingushis.

Assessing the meeting of the president with north Caucasian leaders, presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov said that it was not an easy dialogue and did not signal any major results.

"The meeting was not an easy one and not because of complicated personal or state relations among the leaders of the region, but because in the north Caucasus there is a tight knot of economic, social, political, demographic and border contradictions", Kostikov told reporters.

He said that Yeltsin had criticised several Caucasian leaders for calling on the people to vote down the draft constitution at the upcoming referendum. The constitution will not allow a split of Russia, Yeltsin was quoted as saying.

The Russian president promised to Caucasian leaders whose peoples were repressed during Stalinist years that the governmenmt will soon restore justice in this question.

Yeltsin also promised that a multi-million state debt for grain purchases in the Caucasus will be urgently repaid. Kostikov said that the leaders present at the meeting welcomed the presidential decision and said it would "impress the local population and become a major stabilising factor".

After the meeting in Nalchik Yeltsin left for Vladikavkaz on a helicopter from where he departed for Moscow.

N. Ossetian Leader Praises Yeltsin

LD0812144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Englsih 1324 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 8 TASS—"The chief result of President Boris Yeltsin's working trip to the Northern Caucasus is that it made clear the desire of the leadership of the Russian Federation to secure the settlement of relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia," parliament Chairman Akhsarbek Galazov told a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of North Ossetia today.

"The inhabitants of this multinational republic hope that the president's ideas for the stabilization of the situation in the region will help remove from the agenda the questions about the revision and redrawing of the borders in the region and help solve the problem of refugees and displaced persons by peaceful means. The statement adopted by participants in the meeting in Nalchik of the leaders of the North Caucasian republics, regions and territories with the president of Russia laid down the principles of stabilization of the situation in the area under the state of emergency," Galazov said.

After Galazov's report to the parliament about the results of Boris Yeltsin's trip to the Northern Caucasus, the parliament session was adjourned, and at noon a mass

meeting attended by thousands of people was held in front of the parliament building on the initiative of some public movements of the republic. Its participants expressed disagreement with the plan to bolster the process of repatriation of Ingush refugees to four residential areas in the Prigorodniy District visited by Boris Yeltsin. Nonetheless, Akhsarbek Galazov, who addressed the rally, read out a draft resolution of the North Ossetian parliament on the results of the Russian president's trip to Northern Caucasus and the area under the state of emergency, which said among other things:

"After hearing and discussing information about the visit of the president of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin to North Ossetia and the statement of the leaders of the republics, territories and regions of the Northern Caucasus, the Supreme Soviet resolves to support the measures proposed in the statement aiming to regulate the Osset-Ingush conflict by peaceful means, the most important among which is the announced renunciation by the Ingush side of all territorial claims to North Ossetia; approve the position of the president of Russia and participants in the December 7 conference in Nalchik concerning the rejection of any changes to the existing borders between parts of the Russian Federation without the consent of the parts involved; confirm the commitment to the Kislovodsk agreements on the comprehensive solution of the refugee problem; consider impermissible the use of any violent methods and forcible solution of this problem. The conciliatory commissions of separate residential areas are hereby instructed to continue work aimed at the practical realization of the reached agreements."

On Wednesday afternoon, the session of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian republic continued work and discussed the results of President Yeltsin's trip to the Northern Caucasus in light of the rally held in front of the parliament building earlier today.

Other items on the agenda include a package of documents concerning the election of the first-ever president of the republic of North Ossetia scheduled for January 16, 1994.

Yeltsin Concludes Visit

LD0712134293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's working visit to the North Caucasus ended today. After his meeting in Nalchik with the leaders of the republics, krays, and oblasts in the region, Boris Yeltsin, Akhsarbek Galazov, and Ruslan Aushev went to Vladikavkaz Airport in the president's helicopter. After a brief break, Yeltsin and those accompanying him departed for Moscow.

ITAR-TASS Rounds Up Yeltsin Trip to Caucasus

LD0812090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0825 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Nalchik-Moscow December 8 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin's 2-day working trip to the northern Caucasus, which took place on December 6 and 7, gives grounds for hope that relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia will finally be normalised.

Yeltsin visited the settlement of Chermen in the Prigorodnyy district of North Ossetia on December 6. Agreement to stabilise relations between Ingushetia and North Ossetia was reached during his meetings with members of the Conciliation Commission and further talks within a narrow circle of leaders.

The Russian president's stay in the region was rounded off by the December 7 conference in Nalchik, attended by leaders of the Adyge, Dagestan, Karachayevo-Cherkess, Ingush, and North Ossetian republics, as well as leaders of Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, and the Don area. "The further development of democratic processes, the solution of tasks linked with the implementation of the phased constitutional reform, and the integrity of the Russian Federation largely depend on the overall situation in the northern Caucasus and in Transcaucasia," it is noted in a statement signed by all the participants of the conference.

"The Ossetian-Ingush conflict, which has claimed the lives of hundreds of people, the uncertain status of the Chechen Republic, the forced migration of people, the huge amounts of weapons possessed by extremists, and the grave criminogenic situation in the region are not only a terrible misfortune for the citizens of Russia, but prove the weakness of the federal and local authorities, the inertness of the existing laws," the statement stresses.

Proceeding from the interests of guaranteeing the integrity of the Russian Federation, the participants of the conference have urged the peoples of the northern Caucasus to take an active part in the December 12 elections and to cast their ballots for the new Constitution which guarantees national unity and concord.

In outlining the ways to stabilise the socio-political and economic situation in the northern Caucasus, the statement lays special stress on the need to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict on the basis of reconciliation, renunciation of Ingush territorial claims to a part of the Prigorodnyy district of North Ossetia, anulment by the Ossetian side of its decision that Ingushes and Ossetians cannot live side by side, and the return of refugees to places of their former compact habitation in keeping with the Kislovodsk agreements.

According to presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov's assessments, "the meeting was far from smooth, but not because the leaders of the region have personal or official differences. This is explained by the fact that a very intricate knot of contradictory economic, social, political, demographic and border problems has appeared in the

northern Caucasus". Kostikov said that "all the leaders of the northern Caucasus want the draft of the new Constitution to be adopted and regard it as an important factor contributing to stabilisation".

Russian Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and the Nationalities Sergey Shakhray, who attended the conference, stressed in his comments to the mass media that the Russian Federation's consolidation as a law-governed state would lead to further stabilsation.

Commenting on the results of Yeltsin's trip to the northern Caucasus and on his visit to the state of emergency zone in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Ingush President Ruslan Aushev told ITAR-TASS that the main result of the meetings and talks there was that the wall of enmity began to crumble between the two republics—North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

Planning, Results of Yeltsin Visit to Caucasus Reviewed

MK0712094093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Natalya Pachegina in the "President" column: "Boris Yeltsin Inspects the Situation in North Caucasus"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's trip to the North Caucasus, which began with a visit to the state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, can hardly be classed among the president's "impromptu moves." The talk about the visit's unexpectedness and especially its relation to the Russia-wide election campaign was rejected by Sergey Shakhray, Russian government vice premier and chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, who told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that prior to the trip Boris Nikolayevich had closely studied the situation in the region and, as the vice premier made it clear, Shakhray's "reconnaissance" has played not an insignificant role there. "The pause in the process of settling the Ossetian-Ingush conflict has continued far too long," the president said. "I did not bring a 'recipe,'" he stated. "The main thing is to help the leaders of both republics take steps toward each other." To this end it would be useful to take the proposition about the "impossibility of cohabitation for the Ossetians and the Ingushi" off the agenda, and for the other to abandon territorial claims. Apparently these exhortations became the subject of closed and brief talks between the president and Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Republic; and President Ruslan Aushev of the Republic of Ingushetia. From an informal conversation with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent has learned that the presence during the tour of the power ministers—Grachev himself, Nikolay Golushko, and Viktor Yerin—is designed to specify the intentions of the Russian Federation leadership to organize the settlement [zaseleniye] of four areas in Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia (Kurtat, Chernem, Mayskoye, and Dachnoye). The army, according to Pavel Grachev, will seal off the above residential areas, forming a certain zone inside which the Russian Federation Ministry headed by Viktor Yerin is to ensure the security of the civilian population, confiscation of weapons and activity by investigating bodies.

It was apparently to this end that the emergency zone was inspected during a helicopter flight that ended with a meeting between the Russian president, the leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, and members of the conciliation commission for the settlement of the conflict in the village of Chermen in Prigorodnyy Rayon.

The brevity of the Russian Federation leadership's presence in the emergency zone was attributed to the fact that "the situation in the emergency zone is generally clear."

The "emergency" part of the president's trip, as it appeared to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent, left all the sides concerned (the leaders of North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and the Provisional Administration in the emergency zone) at least disappointed and confused. The presidential team's haste seemed inappropriate to the Caucasians; in any event, the Ossetian side thought that the problem deserves a far more lengthy discussion. As for the proposed division of the four villages in Prigorodnyy Rayon, the Vladikavkaz leadership's predictions are very gloomy. In its opinion, the upcoming measure (it is to be implemented before spring, as the Russian president pointed out) may provoke a new upsurge of confrontation. Incidentally, the Provisional Administration was not even invited. As has become known, talks with the top officials from North Ossetia and Ingushetia proceeded without Provisional Administration head Vladimir Lozovoy. Furthermore, it was expected here that the presidential helicopter, which landed in Beslan in North Ossetia, would fly on to Ingushetia—in other words, that the president would visit Nazran, but apparently there was no time for that.

Security Concerns Said Behind Yeltsin Caucasus Visit

PM0812134993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts report: "Will North Caucasus Become Reliable 'Security Zone' For Russia?"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz-Nalchik—The fact that Boris Yeltsin is addressing the problems of the North Caucasus (and Ossetian-Ingush relations are just part of the broad spectrum of tension in this region) is by no means a coincidence. North Caucasus leaders acknowledged during a discussion with the president that this region is the source of a threat to Russian statehood and, at present, to the reforms being implemented. It would clearly be a mistake to try to resolve local problems with the assumption that they are exclusively local.

The first day of Boris Yeltsin's trip to North Ossetia could be described as a "day of consultations at all levels."

Having come here without ready-made remedies, the president heard out the views not only of the republic's leaders but also of representatives of th population living in the centers of tension.

But the second day of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the North Caucasus, in particular the conference in Nalchik of leaders of republics, krays, and oblasts in the North Caucasus, provided serious hopes for a fundamental improvement in the situation in the region. The participants in the conference signed a joint statement in which, in particular, Ingushetia pledged to renounce its claims to part of the territory of North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy Rayon, while North Ossetia in turn revoked its decision as to the impossibility of the Ingush and Ossetians living together. It was acknowledged that refugees on both sides should undoubtedly be returned on the basis of the Kislovodsk agreements. The statement also contained an item that will provide Army subunits with a job—the disarmament of illegal formations in North Ossetia, Ingushetia, and the North Caucasus as a whole.

The conference participants noted that Chechnya is still the main factor causing instability in the region. It was decided to clearly designate the borders of the Chechen Republic and place them under strict montitoring. Boris Yeltsin said that he would instruct the security minister and the secretary of the Security Council to maintain a "tight border" with Chechnya. Incidentally, no representatives of that republic took part in the conference.

The regional leaders stressed that legislative regulation of questions of land use, and not the Army, should be the real, effective instrument for resolving the "Caucasus problem." Along with demographic and socioeconomic factors, this is one of the "triggers" creating instability in the North Caucasus. Evidently, in the edict which Boris Yeltsin intends to promulgate 13 December the president will take all these proposals into consideration.

In turn the region's leaders supported the new Russian Constitution and urged the peoples of the North Caucasus to give it their vote.

Although it bore some features of an "election attack," the head of state's visit to one of Russia's "hot" regions on the eve of the referendum on the draft Russian Constitution and the elections to the Federal Assembly was effectively designed to achieve long-term radical change in the situation in the North Caucasus. Should there be a "Caucasus security zone" or not—today there seem to be the first grounds for answering this question in the affirmative.

Paper Rounds Up Results of Yeltsin Talks in Nalchik

PM0812101193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Galazov and Aushev Shake One Another's Hands, and Dudayev Has Food for Thought"]

[Text] "Galazov and Aushev gave one another their word to start the reconciliation process and shook one another's hand; and, according to Caucasian custom, that cannot be taken back," President Yeltsin announced on the morning of 7 December during a meeting with North Caucasus regional leaders in Nalchik. The shift in the difficult conciliation process between North Ossetia and Ingushetia may be said to have come as a surprise to all the journalists here.

The day before, following his trip to the village of Chermen—one of the most painful spots in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, where the border cuts the village in half and the enmity engendered by the conflict over land and property is never-ending—you would have thought that Yeltsin's visit would be unsuccessful. His urgent departure for Nalchik kind of confirmed this. Journalists were lost in conjecture as to what had happened at Chermen's vocational and technical school. Hypotheses were even voiced that the visit had been hampered by terrorists.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent spoke about this to General A. Korzhakov, head of the president's body guard. It transpired that he was not particularly jumpy. People from the Main Protection Directorate as well as personnel from the "Vityaz" antiterrorist squad had previously taken control of all points where the president was to put in an appearance. There was air cover, and during the flight from Vladikavkaz to Chermen helicopters swapped places and flare rockets and other safety measures were in place in the event of a Stinger being launched.

In Nalchik the president was visited by the leaders of Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and Rostov Oblast. There seem to have been intensive consultations there during the evening since on the morning of 7 December the president said that accord had been reached in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. A corresponding edict will be signed 13 December right after the elections.

Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov announced that the conference with the president discussed the question of taking control of the borders with Chechnya in their capacity as interim borders since no one has expelled the Chechen Republic from Russia. The president immediately instructed Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov and Security Minister Nikolay Golushko to urgently establish an interim border with Chechnya and take control of the railroads.

The president sharply condemned the irresponsible position espoused by some North Caucasus regional leaders campaigning against the new Constitution, stressing that only a new Fundamental Law can prevent a split in Russia. "If anyone plays this card, tough measures are inevitable," the president said.

All participants in the conference in Nalchik signed a statement. It says that there is still a danger of an explosion in the North Caucasus, in particular owing to the death of hundreds of people in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, the vagueness of Chechnya's status, the huge number of

weapons in the hands of the population, the grave crime situation in the region, and the weakness of the federal and local authorities.

North Caucasus Congress Rejects Draft Constitution

LD0712120793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The Congress of Peoples of North Caucasus, which is being held in Groznyy, adopted a decision on the categorical nonacceptance of the new draft Russian constitution. The Congress called on all of south Russia to vote against the draft constitution which is to be put to a referendum on 12 December. The Congress adjourned its work today until 20 December in connection with the resolution on the immediate return of Ingush refugees to the places where they formerly lived in North Ossetia. If North Ossetia does not accept the conditions of the Congress it will be excluded from membership of the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples.

Border With Chechnya To Be Fortified

LD0712134693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 7 TASS—Russia is going to set up a clear cut border with its rebel region of Chechnya in the Caucasus which proclaimed independence and refused to participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections and referenum on the draft constitution.

The issue of Chechnya was raised at a meeting of President Boris Yeltsin with leaders of north Caucasian republics in the city of Nalchik on Tuesday, according to presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov.

"The president has already instructed the secretary of the Russian Security Council and the security minister to urgently discuss the issue of marking and strengthening the border with Chechnya and of making it dense", Kostikov said.

He added that Yeltsin had also ordered to take under control the railway going across Chechnya where trains are often attacked and robbed.

Chechya was absent at the meeting.

International Affairs

Ukraine's Exclusion From NATO Plan Denied

LD0712200593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1457 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent was informed at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry on 7 December that a conference of NATO heads of state will be held in Rome on 10 January, where the U.S. "Partnership for Peace" initiative, examined at the sitting of the North Atlantic Council, will gain official recognition. Ihor Kharchenko, chief of the ministry's Political Analysis and Forecasts Directorate, pointed out that rumors spread by some of the mass media about the raising of the issue of excluding Ukraine from the "Partnership for Peace" plan at the meeting of NATO foreign ministers do not correspond with reality and that the issue was not on the agenda. Members of the Ukrainian delegation confirmed that at the sitting of the North Atlantic Council's foreign affairs ministers in Brussels, the delegation of Russia sought to resume its attempts to isolate the Ukrainian delegation and mount pressure on Ukraine, thus expressing dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian Supreme Council's stance on START I ratification.

Official Comments on CSCE Session, Security

LD0712192293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1457 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—At a briefing for journalists on 7 November, Volodymyr Lapytskyy, chief of Ukraine's MZS [Foreign Affairs Ministry] Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and European Regional Cooperation Directorate, commented on the results of the forum of foreign affairs ministers at the fourth CSCE session in Rome on 30 November-1 December.

The issue of European security, in his words, was raised in various contexts, ranging from the topic of nuclear disarmament and the ratification of the START I by Ukraine to the position on ethnic minorities set forth by French Prime Minister Balladur. Members of the Ukrainian delegation said that Leonid Kravchuk's initiative to create a security zone in Central and Eastern Europe was not aired, but that ideas similar to that put forward by Ukraine were voiced.

As for the tense situation that, indirectly, had arisen in relations between the delegations of Russia and Ukraine at the CSCE forum, Ukrainian diplomats emphasized our state's disagreement with Russian claims to the status of a peacekeeper across the territory of the former USSR. Russia, on the other hand, was not content with the method of ratification of START I by Ukraine. "The so-called 'third party' can only participate in settling an inter-regional conflict involving two other states as part of an international contingent, rather than as military forces of one country," Volodymyr Lapytskyy explained Ukraine's stance on that issue.

Chinese Envoy Views Nuclear Disarmament, Trade

WS0812120193 Kiev KYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 p 1, 2

[Interview with Chinese Ambassador to Ukraine Zhang Zhen by N. Vasylyuk; place and date not given: "All of Us Will Soon Go to China"]

[Excerpts] A ceremony to open the Chinese Embassy in Kiev took place in late fall. Unfortunately, our construction workers had not finished all the work before the ceremony. This is why I interviewed Chinese Ambassador to Ukraine Zhang Zhen in a hotel room where his embassy has been operating for a year and a half now. Mr. Zhang Zhen has worked in diplomacy for 20 years. Half of this time was spent working at the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union. Then, he received an assignment at the Chinese Foreign Ministry. After Ukraine proclaimed its independence, he was appointed to the post of ambassador in our country—the first Chinese ambassador to Ukraine. [passage omitted]

[Vasylyuk] What is the opinion of China about the problem of nuclear disarmament in Ukraine?

[Zhang] Ukraine's course toward nonnuclear status is in line with the desire of the entire world for peace and stability. We support this policy. In addition, the Chinese Government has already agreed to give Ukraine nuclear security guarantees.

[Vasylyuk] As for economic links between our two countries, they seem to be developing only on the interpersonal level.

[Zhang] In the past, China traded with Ukraine through Moscow. This, however, does not mean that all contacts were disrupted. The turnover in trade between our countries totaled $230 million last year, and already reached the $220 million mark in the first half of this year. China's trade turnover is the third largest after Russia and Kazakhstan. Our country is extremely interested in Ukraine's metallurgical industry, chemical industry, machine-building, planes, etc.

[Vasylyuk] But still, private entrepreneurs have long paved a road connecting China and Ukraine. Can you apply for a Chinese visa in Kiev yet?

[Zhang] Yes, there are relevant departments functioning in our embassy. We never deny visas to citizens whose documents are in proper order. On our reception days, we receive dozens of Ukrainian citizens applying for Chinese visas.

[Vasylyuk] How often do Chinese citizens visit your embassy?

[Zhang] They do not visit our embassy. Problems that they confront here are not unique to Ukraine. My fellow countrymen fall victim to public disorder and robbery. Incidentally, our people are not the only ones robbed, and Ukraine is not the only country in which people get robbed. For example, a Mercedes belonging to the Chinese

Embassy in Bulgaria was stolen. The car was later found by Interpol—in Ukraine. As for Chinese citizens, we do our best to help them. [passage omitted]

West, Russia Accused of 'Financial Aggression'

LD0712194093 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The main disease of our economy is not even the decline in production but the collapse of Ukraine's financial and credit system, Volodymyr Demyanov, deputy prime minister of our state [for agro-industrial issues], has stated. He emphasized that according to the main indicator, Ukraine looks better than, for example, Russia; our neighbor's decline in production came to 53 percent in October, but our decline in production only came to 25 percent. In the opinion of Demyanov, real financial aggression against Ukraine is being conducted by the hand of the West and Russia.

National Affairs

Conference Sees State Restricting Mass Media

LD0812105993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1530 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Kharkov, 5 Dec—Participants at the all-Ukrainian conference on "Mass Media and the Elections" have sent an appeal to the president, the Supreme Council, and the Council of Ministers of Ukraine which expresses their protest against the decision by state bodies to reduce the volume of TV broadcasting. These measures, say the authors of the appeal, have been supposedly caused by (according to insufficiently reasoned explanations) the desire to save electric energy. In reality, they are aimed at discriminating against the fundamental human right to information and the right to receive and distribute it through the persecution of the independent electronic mass media. This is evidenced by the fact that on workdays state television starts broadcasting two hours earlier in the evening than other TV channels.

The participants at the conference believe that this measure is one of many steps aimed at destroying freedom of speech in Ukraine. Within this context one may also regard the law on state secrets, which was passed after the first reading, and the draft amendments to the criminal code, which envisages that journalists who publish information considered to be a state and official secret by government structures at their own discretion will be taken to book. "This step by government structures, taken on the eve of elections to Ukraine's Supreme Council, is a political action similar to those under authoritarian and fascist regimes. We appeal to all democratically minded journalists and politicians and Ukraine's businessmen to support our protests against this action by the party of opponents. We also appeal to international structures that defend human rights to condemn the authoritarian steps by the Ukrainian oligarchy," states the appeal adopted at the conference, "Mass Media and the Elections."

Trade Union Group Criticizes Government Actions

LD0712195193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] A news conference took place at the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine today for representatives of the mass media and leaders of trade union associations.

[Correspondent] Opening the news conference, Oleksandr Stoyan, head of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, analyzed the situation which has arisen in Ukraine in connection with the sharp uncontrolled increase in prices. He observed that the latest round of talks between the trade unions and the government on concluding a general tariff agreement for 1994 should take place today, but circumstances are such that the Federation of Trade Unions has demanded explanations from the government regarding the frequent violation of this year's agreement, as demonstrated by December's unprecedented increase in prices.

Ukraine's ministers for issues of labor, the economy, finance, and agriculture, their deputies, and representatives of the administration of the president of Ukraine defended their position fairly vigorously and gave explanations for their unpopular decisions.

Information from the provinces shows that the situation is getting out of control. It is threatening Ukraine's independence, the leaders of trade union associations said. They demanded that the president of Ukraine and the government reply to the questions worrying the citizens of Ukraine, in particular where the government is leading the people of Ukraine, how long the experiments on them will continue, and in general where does one go from here.

The Federation of Trade Unions condemned the antipopular actions of the government and passed a demand to the government and president of Ukraine regarding urgent measures for social protection of the population, taking into account the drastic lowering of the workers' standard of living.

Official 'Poverty Line' Questioned

LD0812115693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0748 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 7 Dec—Leaders of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Ukraine [FPU] and representatives of the government gave a news conference at the House of Trade Unions.

FPU Deputy Chairman Hryhoriy Osovyy pointed out that the FPU estimated the poverty line at 190,000 karbovantsi as long ago as 25 November and that the forecast for December amounts to around 340,000 karbovantsi. The 197,000-karbovantsi poverty line suggested by the government last month does not correspond with the December consumer goods price increases. Under the conditions of rising food prices, industrial goods retail prices in the trade network and at enterprises were forcibly increased by 1.5 times due to a markup on commodity stocks.

Finance Minister Viktor Pyatachenko, Agriculture Minister Yuriy Karasyk, and Deputy Economy Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov assured the news conference that they will look into the accuracy of the substantiation of retail price levels across the regions and in the city of Kiev.

Union Committee Labels Price Hikes 'Genocide'

LD0712194993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1530 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 7 Dec—The Executive Committee of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine [Vilni Profspilky Ukrayiny] has sent a statement to President Leonid Kravchuk, acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, and Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch.

"The Executive Committee of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine assesses the administrative increase in prices for goods and services, which are necessities, and the laughable increase in wages by the Government of Ukraine as a continuation by the leadership of Ukraine of the genocide against their own people.

The Free Trade Unions of Ukraine have frequently demanded that a mechanism be introduced for the precautionary indexation of pensions and wages every month, but the president, government, and Supreme Council are deaf to the voice of their electors and are continuing to try the patience of their own people. But everything has its limits.

The Executive Committee of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine is beginning to prepare for an all-Ukrainian strike. The Consultative Council will determine the specific term of the beginning of the strike. If Ukraine's leadership does not make use of its last chance and does not bring pensions, grants, and wages in line with prices, and if it does not also bring a mechanism into practice for precautionary indexation each month, the people will have no choice but to go out onto the streets and chase all of these apologies for leaders from their long-occupied places," says the statement of the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Strike Leader Cites 'Worsening' Energy Crisis

LD0712172293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2036 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Donetsk Oblast—Ihor Dyatlov, joint chairman of the Makeyevka Municipal Strike Committee, commenting at UNIAN's request on the worsening of the energy crisis, noted: "It was not the strikes but the situation in Ukraine that deceived us, including in the coal sector. We do not have timber or cutter-loaders for the extraction of coal. We have no more than 30 percent of materials and equipment. The level of material and technical provision has dropped at least three-fold compared with 1991. As far as the Makiyivvuhillya Association is concerned, said Ihor Dyatlov, the miners are fulfilling their duty to the power engineering workers and the population: In November the association was the only one in Ukraine to have fulfilled the state order, having extracted an additional 4,200 tonnes of coal.

However, as before, parity in prices is on the agenda. Power engineering workers raised the price on electricity three-fold while the price of coal has not changed. The association has losses of more than 200 billion karbovantsi, above all because of the unequal pricing policy. The miners are once again calling on the government to elaborate a real pricing policy."

Paper on START I Approval, Treaty Provisions

WS0712154793 Kiev KYYIVSKYI VEDOMOSTI in Ukrainian 25 Nov 93 p 3

[Article by Yuliya Mostova: "The Legislature Ratified START I. What Will It Bring Ukraine?"]

[Text] A short point of reference at the beginning. The START I Treaty was signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in Moscow on 31 August 1991. Following the collapse of the latter, the nuclear republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan—became the treaty's subjects, as documented by the Lisbon Protocol which Ukraine signed on 23 May 1992. Ukraine was the last of the five states to have its parliament ratify the treaty. The signature came after heavy pressure from the outside, conditions that Ukraine put forward (they are still not met, and simply turned into a resolution's condition for exchanging instruments of ratification), differences in Ukraine itself as to the future of its nuclear weapons... Still, the Supreme Council ratified, 254 to 9, START I and the Lisbon Protocol, excluding its Chapter 5 providing for Ukraine's joining the nonproliferation treaty as a nonnuclear state.

After the closed meeting, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko commented on the decision the following way:

We have been moving toward ratification for more than a year, and the road to this was pretty bumpy. The point is that the treaty's topic and related problems proved much more complex than they initially seemed. All deputies and experts involved in working on the treaty and studying its various aspects, as well as its implementation, deserve much credit. The fact of ratification provides compelling evidence that Ukraine is moving toward nonnuclear status.

The resolution reflects very well the sentiments of different legislative groupings. Differences in their attitudes were expressed in reservations included in the resolution. Some of the reservations, worded as conditions, stem from a number of unresolved problems that could get the Supreme Council to adopt a resolution of a completely different nature. In this regard, one should point to the inconsistency of our partners at the negotiations. It stands to reason that we are talking about security guarantees and financial and technical assistance in scrapping nuclear arms. I would like to emphasize here that this document is of historic importance. In my opinion, it is a great stride toward a new world system and a good example for the

entire international community, which will open the way for general disarmament and new political and diplomatic approaches in determining principles and norms of coexistence of states in the post-confrontation period.

The nonproliferation treaty was perceived—and not only by us—as the next step after START I. We are not yet prepared to talk about it in greater detail, but understand its connection with START I. Keeping in mind all the above-mentioned reservations, we should start to practically implement the document ratified by the Supreme Council, and only after that go on to the following stage.

The ratification of START I is of exceptional importance for us. Economic, political, and ecologic aspects aside, I can positively state that Ukraine can count on increased financial assistance, which is so desperately needed in these hard times. This dependency may provoke mixed feelings, but this is real life.

The Supreme Council resolution includes 13 provisions which, if not met, will make the exchange of instruments of ratification impossible. Chapter 5, for instance, says: "Ukraine, as the state owning nuclear arms, shall move toward nonnuclear status and gradually phase out nuclear weapons stationed on its territory, provided that it will receive guarantees of its national security, under which other nuclear states will commit themselves to refrain from using their nuclear arms against Ukraine, resorting to violent threats or economic pressure to solve any disputes, and respecting Ukraine's territorial integrity and the nonviolability of its borders." In addition, other chapters state that Ukraine will fulfill its obligations within the timeframe specified by the treaty if it receives technical and financial assistance, nuclear and ecologic security guarantees, regains its nuclear weapons components brought out of its territory for their peaceful utilization or compensation for them; or, if it gets compensation for the tactical weapons which were moved to Russia in 1992. In Chapter 11, parliament recommended the president hold negotiations with a number of states and organizations about:

1. International security guarantees for Ukraine;

2. Conditions for economic, financial, and scientific aid for the fulfillment of obligations stipulated by the treaty;

3. Warranty and authorship [avtorske] servicing of nuclear ammunition and missile complexes, and other topic.

While leaving the parliament, Serhiy Holovatyy, when asked when the exchange of ratification instruments will take place, replied: "Maybe never, given the proposed conditions. However, we made a step toward the West and are waiting now for their answer."

It should be noted that assembling of the draft of the Supreme Council resolution on the START treaty, done by a working group for START I ratification, the commission for international affairs, and the commission for defense issues, was long and tedious.

The major setback proved Chapter 6 saying that "...subject to destruction are 36 percent of carriers and 42 percent of military loads." The president crossed out these figures twice, but deputies put them back again. Moreover, at the closed meeting, L. Kravchuk submitted this amendment to deputies for examination, but it was rejected by a margin of 154 votes. Leonid Kravchuk, who reassured Warren Christopher that Ukraine will fulfill all of its commitments, called on deputies to stop playing the nuclear state game. Kravchuk, however, met with a rebuff. So did Valeriy Shmarov.

As a result, the treaty's ratification document is full of many conditions, falling way short of expectations outside Ukraine. So it does not make much sense to think that the country will be left alone and expect an influx of foreign investments into its economy. One should not rule out that Russia might refuse to provide its experts for servicing nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine. The United States and other nuclear states will step up political and economic pressure. Also, relations between the president and the legislature will worsen, with the West's sympathies directed at the president, the peacekeeper.

Of course, it would be the best thing if all of Ukraine's conditions were met, if it were given an opportunity to cut boosters and weapons by 36 percent and 42 percent, respectively, and if all other countries supported its appeal to abandon nuclear arms. But there is no room in politics for wishful thinking.

Reasons Behind START I Ratification Viewed

WS0712150093 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 1 Dec 93 p 1, 2

[Article by Yaroslav Mynko: "Who Will Guarantee Security to Ukraine"]

[Text] The Ukrainian declaration of independence stipulates that the country will not participate in any blocs, will remain neutral, and in the future will become a nonnuclear state. This historical document was adopted in an atmosphere of euphoria and noble spirits, and nobody can question its genuineness. It seemed that all countries would not only be happy, but would also base their relations with us on the highest moral values, and make all earnest and possible efforts to cooperate with us in the destruction of nuclear weapons.

However, this naive and joyful concept of the world and a new nonnuclear era was shattered like the morning mist. To our great surprise, we discovered that our honest deeds, such as sending all tactical missiles to Russia, were met neither with mutual understanding, nor fair partnership, nor equal rights, but on the contrary, our young state experienced savage pressure by powerful countries, authoritative tones, and economic blackmail.

Our legislators finally understood that nuclear weapons are, first of all, of great material value, and that huge expenditures in U.S. dollars are required to dismantle our silos and missiles. Moreover, following Russia's territorial claims, encouraging the Crimea to separate from Ukraine, unwillingness to share the Black Sea Fleet, which remains a military support for separatist moods in southern

Ukraine, and certain statements made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, they began to think about the security of our young state. Even though Ukraine's leaders have requested guarantees for security, such as a joint agreement on the inviolability of our borders and the inadmissibility of aggression by another country, they have not received any promises from the United States, Germany, or anybody else. Requesting the guarantees, they had in mind merely moral support, which is of course very important, however, a moral is always placed at the end of a fairy tale...

After the second Moscow putsch, the deputies corps panicked. Nobody was going to grant guarantees for security, while the situation in Russia could exacerbate even more. Everybody understood that Ukraine should defend itself independently.

Even agreements on Ukraine's national security with the United States or with NATO could remain only on paper, because, as history teaches, they are effective only during a time of peace. It should be enough to remember the 1924 Locarno pact on guarantees between France and Czechoslovakia. As early as 1938, when the situation dangerously changed, the French Government, along with the British one, signed the Munich treaty, giving a free way for Hitler, and in 1939, Czechoslovakia was already under the fascist occupation.

Of course, the circumstances are completely different today, nevertheless, Ukraine's situation somehow resembles that of Czechoslovakia in 1937. So, I believe that the stipulations attached to the ratification of the START I treaty are the only reasonable solution in today's uncertain times.

Ukraine's participation in NATO is currently out of the question, and will be so in the near future, because NATO officials are very conservative, and they would not change their organization, unless there are objective reasons.

One more prominent fact should be mentioned here. During his official visit to Poland, Boris Yeltsin said that this sovereign country could independently decide about its participation in NATO. However, literally a few days later, the Russian president announced that Poland should abandon these hopes... The Poles still grind their teeth...

NATO will not change its structure, not even to appease Russia. The latter even hinted that it could join the bloc. However, if Russia was admitted to the bloc, this would resemble the story about an elephant in a drugstore, because Russia will never agree to play a secondary role—it always assumes an imperative position in international affairs. One can be sure that NATO understands this very well.

However, here comes the first swallow. According to the BBC, recently, the chief of the Russian Intelligence Service has disseminated a report, prepared by his analytical services, on possibilities of East European countries joining NATO. In particular, the report says that, despite the changes in this region, NATO's leadership has not been able to restructure itself and abandon the attitude of psychological confrontation. There is a question, said Yevgeniy Primakov [chief of the Russian Intelligence Services], whether enlargement of the block alone would contribute to transformation of NATO into a political body, which should appear in the post-confrontation period. The analytical services of the Russian military intelligence give a negative answer to this question.

Taking into consideration all the aforementioned and other circumstances, it can be said that the Supreme Soviet stipulations attached to the ratification of the START I Treaty are just and indispensable. Ukraine will unconditionally continue to proceed on the path of nuclear disarmament, but during this most difficult time—when it is, according to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, very weak and stands on "flimsy legs"—it must protect its dignity and avoid being fooled one more time. There are those who believe that such a stance will generate political pressure on Ukraine, and that Russia may refuse further servicing of the nuclear warheads deployed on our territory.

Besides, I believe, that our president somewhat dodges, claiming that Ukraine does not have capabilities of launching its missiles, and that there is a problem of preventing Moscow from doing this, despite the fact that we have signed an appropriate agreement with Russia. Kharkiv scientists have repeatedly claimed that the handling of nuclear missiles is merely an engineering problem. One could draw a conclusion that, under certain circumstances, the Ukrainian side could independently bear the responsibilities for operating its nuclear systems, however, this would require considerable expenses.

We must not forget that we live in a world, where, despite all democratic ideas and norms, the rule of force prevails. Nobody will take us seriously, unless our political leadership expresses the political willingness to defend our national interests. The stipulations added to the ratification of the START I treaty by the Ukrainian legislature will force Western countries to pay more attention to Ukraine and its problems, as well as to negotiate with us on equal rights. The red button for igniting the 46 SS-24 strategic missiles deployed on Ukrainian territory, which remains in Moscow, poses a threat not only to Ukraine, but also to the entire Europe and the world. Ukraine has the right, provided that it continues on the path of gradual nuclear disarmament, to be understood and offered suitable assistance.

National Conservative Party Backs Nuclear Status

LD0712185593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1457 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—On 6 December the Ukrainian National Conservative Party (UNKP) issued a statement on the Ukrainian Supreme Council's ratification of the START I Treaty. In particular it insists that Ukraine should become a full member of the nuclear club. To do this, the clause on its nonnuclear status should be rescinded. Apart from that, the UNKP statement suggests that the Ukrainian president should "set about drawing up a national program of

nuclear research, production of nuclear warheads, and antimissile defense space systems."

Officers Union Accused of Political Activities

WS0812095493 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Valeriy Izmalkov, Ukrainian Supreme Council deputy, by Anatoliy Smetanin; place and date not given: "Ukrainian Officers Union Is a Grouping of Outright Rightist Orientation"—first two paragraphs and last paragraph are Anatoliy Smetanin's commentary]

[Text] The last plenary session of the Ukrainian Officers Union [UOU] has adopted a decision on participation in the election campaign in close unity with political blocs and parties that favor the buildup of an independent Ukraine. It is no secret that the UOU's strength and authority are decreasing and Defense Minister Radetskyy has issued an order repealing the order of his predecessor that empowered the UOU to effect the cadre policy of the Defense Ministry and participate in personnel training.

What is the UOU? Is it a public or a political organization? What is its role in the life of the country?

[Izmalkov] You know when in September 1990 the UOU was organized, all of us thought that Vilen Martirosyan and his colleagues would conduct a policy for aiding a young independent state in the buildup of the Armed Forces, and would socially protect servicemen and their families. However, when Grigoriy Omelchenko became UOU chairman, the UOU activities acquired a political character.

[Smetanin] In my opinion, this situation caused the creation of a State Committee for Social Protection of Servicemen.

[Izmalkov] You are right. The UOU leadership had to modify its course regarding the dire economic situation in Ukraine, however, it did not do it and is currently supporting the national-radical forces like the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists [CUN], the Ukrainian National Assembly, the Ukrainian State Independence [USI] and military organizations subordinated to them —the Ukrainian National Self-Defense [UNSD] and the USI Guard.

[Smetanin] What is this cooperation manifested in?

[Izmalkov] The UOU fourth congress has formally registered the union with these groupings. Under pressure from extremists, the congress adopted ultimatums addressed to the Ukrainian president, legislature, and the government demanding the "ban of Victory Day," the "withdrawal of combat banners from the units," the "subordination of the military counterintelligence to the defense minister," abolishment of the "Committee for Social Protection of Servicemen," and so on. Further, Colonels in Reserve A. Koshel and V. Nizhnik proposed to keep an eye on officers of Russian nationality and to form "shadow structures" in "power" ministries.

[Smetanin] Valeriy Nikolaevich, why do you think that the UOU leadership is not guided by the intention to strengthen the independence of our state?

[Izmalkov] I can admit that they are guided by a noble aim. However, I do not see any linkage between the social protection of servicemen and the participation of UOU Chairman A. Skipalskiy, UOU Deputy Chairmen R. Kostyuk, G. Omelchenko, A. Koshel, and UOU members V. Mulyava, O. Rol, E. Lupakov, G. Sirenko, A. Grishchuk in the work of the first all-Ukrainian meeting of the CUN and the Organization of Ukrainian Bandera Followers that was held in Kiev under a clandestine title "Kiev Opposes Moscow."

[Smetanin] You mentioned that the UOU has contacts with various extremist organizations. In what way does the UOU profit from these relations?

[Izmalkov] It is not so simple. I am very concerned with the fact that the ambitious UOU officers who hold senior posts in the Ukrainian Army are opposing lawfulness in an attempt to change the power and turn the Ukrainian Army into a political force in cooperation with criminal extremists. Let us analyze the participation of the UNSD militants in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. This fact is known to everybody, however, a few people know that aforementioned General O. Rol and Lieutenant General V. Antonets organized medical treatment for a group of wounded UNSD servicemen in a Kiev military hospital. These servicemen participated in military actions and were wounded in Abkhazia. Later, V. Antonets ordered a pilot school commander to provide facilities for the training of 60 sergeants and officers in reserve from 10 to 20 August, 1993. In reality, these people represented the USI Guard.

On 9 June, 1993, V. Mulyava ordered commanders of the Transcarpathian Military District to organize periodic training for the UNSD members under the umbrella of youth organizations "Plast," "Rutenia," "Vozrozhdenie," and "Sokol."

[Smetanin] One more observation. I have often heard in our mass media that KGB officers have cut short some operations aiming at undermining the economic and political stability of the state. At the same time, I can hear that some UOU leaders would like to resubordinate the Ukrainian KGB and the military counterintelligence to the defense minister....

[Izmalkov] This is an additional remark to the UOU attempts to isolate the Ukrainian Armed Forces from the people and to cut off a single way of transmitting the information to the president.

Hence, the aforementioned facts prove that the UOU is involved in political activities.

P.S. When People's Deputy V. Izmalkov asked us to publish an interview with him in our newspaper, I invited Mr. Skipalskiy and Mr. Omelchenko to speak on the issue. To my regret, they refused to come to our editorial office.

Current, Previous Defense Ministers Portrayed

PM0712165593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Bogdanovskiy from Lvov and Grigoriy Nesmyanovich from Kiev: "Ukraine's Former and Current Defense Ministers in Resolute Mood. Konstantin Morozov and Vitaliy Radetskiy Again the Center of Attention"]

[Text] When he resigned from the post of Ukrainian defense minister, Colonel General Konstantin Morozov did not, so to speak, lay down his arms, but joined actively in the Republic's political life. The ex-minister gives numerous interviews, keenly discusses the problems associated with the nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine, and has decided to run for the new parliament as an independent candidate for Ternopol Electoral District.

People in the republic are equally attentively following the activity of the man who took Morozov's place in the post of Ukrainian defense minister, Army General Vitaliy Radetskyy. Although he has not been head of the military department long, he has already adopted a number of decisions which have evoked widespread comment both in the Army and within society.

One such decision was the abolition of the Social and Psychological Services Directorate, which was run by Major General Vladimir Mulyava. For some time the question of the low efficiency of the directorate's work and of the fact that the concept elaborated by this department was out of touch with real life and poorly met the demands of the time and the needs of people in uniform had been raised repeatedly not only in the republic's mass media but also at Supreme Council sessions. While opponents were merely trying to save face for the military. But what could they say against the background of the universal deterioration in the state of discipline and organization among troops? So their arguments were reduced merely to references to the new structure's growing pains and eulogies of its leader, Major General Vladimir Mulyava.

This state of affairs did not suit the new defense minister. So he issued an order reorganizing the Social and Psychological Services Directorate as a Main Directorate for Educational, Social, and Psychological Work headed by Lieutenant General Anatoliy Kobzar. There will also be changes in the structures of staffs at various levels, where the posts of deputy commanders (commanding officers) for educational, social, and psychological work will be introduced, with an appropriate change in duties. It is proposed that a military humanities institute be set up to train specialists in the first half of 1994.

The defense minister's order to make military commissariats, which were previously under the control of local authorities, subordinate to the military department was perceived in the troops as a sensible move.

Ukraine's defense minister devoted the whole week to visiting the defense enterprises of Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov, and other cities. "Our trip to Lvov," Army General Radetskyy declared before leaving the city "was not just for pleasure. We are ready to resolve serious problems."

Ukraine's Armed Forces have marked their second anniversary. By order of the republic defense minister, there was a 20-round artillery salute in the cities of Kiev, Odessa, Lvov, and Sevastopol. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk addressed a ceremonial meeting in Kiev. His speech particularly emphasized the idea that, out of all Ukraine's immediate neighbors, Russia, for historical, geographical, and other reasons, is and will continue to be of particularly great interest for Ukraine as a partner in the military sphere.

Belarus

Deputy Defense Minister on Prospects for Army Conversion

WS0712102893 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with First Deputy Defense Minister Aleksandr Tushinskiy, by Petr Romanchuk; place and date not given: "Belarus' Peaceful Initiatives Begin To Pay Economically"]

[Text] [Romanchuk] Aleksandr Yosifovich, during the latest visit, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher highly praised the Republic's contribution to global disarmament, and emphasized that the United States is willing to further encourage the contribution. Does the United States help the Belarusian military authorities?

[Tushinskiy] We experienced U.S. assistance immediately after the signing of an agreement on relations between the defense ministries of our states on 22 October 1992 in New York. Along with $65 million allocated to the conversion in Belarus, the American side has established a direct communication line between the Pentagon and our National Agency for Control and Inspection. We have also received equipment for the civil defense system to alleviate possible accidents. Negotiations on deliveries of equipment for a modern export-control system to Belarus have entered the decisive stage. This would efficiently help supervise deliveries and the transport of dangerous materials and cargoes via Belarus.

However, the issue of conversion, as has been stated by the Belarusian Defense Ministry and the leadership of our Republic, should be examined in wider perspective, and should not be boiled down to momentary aid. In the course of the latest visit to the United States, a delegation of the Belarusian Defense Ministry and military enterprises came forward with certain offers that, we hope, will attract some investments. The focal points of these offers were the retraining of personnel, ecology, housing, and conversion.

[Romanchuk] For nuclear states of the former Soviet Union, the United States intends, according to the Nunn-Lugar bill, to earmark $400 million. What does Belarus count on?

[Tushinskiy] I believe that we could receive $100 million. However, our offers—and the United States fully understands them—may require considerably higher expenditures. Managers of various Belarusian military enterprises, who visited the United States, have established broad contacts with representatives of American firms. I consider the results of these business talks very promising. It should be enough saying that about 150 firms have expressed willingness to cooperate with us, and we will hold a competition for the best projects for cooperation in November or December. IBM, General Electric, Texas Instrument, and other large American firms are interested in offers made by our enterprises, in particular by the Integral, the Belarusian Optical-Mechanical Corporation, and the Belarusian Computer Company.

[Romanchuk] Can the lack of agreements on investment protection between Belarus and the United States hamper this business partnership?

[Tushinskiy] In this case, no. The above-mentioned Belarusian enterprises are the largest among those in the former Soviet Union defense system, and they possess a powerful scientific-technical potential. A promising way of protecting investments is establishing joint venture enterprises. We have agreed that Belarusian-American joint venture enterprises will be founded on the basis of our three factories, which will serve as an example for further cooperation. The example should lie not in wasting resources, but in investing them in vast projects. In the United States, we were met with full understanding that the defense industry used to consume vital resources in the past, and that our state will maintain such a specific sphere, not showing much inclination to privatize enterprises of this branch.

[Romanchuk] Along with the issue of conversion, there is the problem of establishing the Belarusian Armed Forces, which would be less dependent on other countries, and will need a great deal of military equipment, technology, weapons, and specialists. However, army contracts with domestic enterprises amount to only 2 percent...

[Tushinskiy] Belarus' industry, particularly the defense industry, was designed as the USSR's "assembly room." Nowadays, after the fall of the Soviet Union, this percentage is really low. It would be logical to increase it to 60 percent of the existing production forces. Also possible is cooperation with other countries. Belarusian tank and plane repair plants have already broadened the scope of their services; they have begun to produce spare parts.

Naturally, such issues as establishing Belarus' military-industrial complex and its military doctrine are also very important today. Assuming that the state could more vigorously handle these issues, the Defense Ministry itself stimulates certain processes in the Republic such as, for example, the most important part of conversion—the retraining of the officer corps. Today, there are four training centers in the Republic. Moreover, at United States' recommendation, a model training facility will be established at the Lida training center. Additionally, a 270-apartment housing project is to be built there. There is also an employment program for retrained officers. They will learn such "market" skills as marketing, economics, and tax services.

[Romanchuk] From a political point of view, how could Belarus' activity in searching for ways of quicker conversion be explained?

[Tushinskiy] First of all, this is a desire to reassure the world community that Belarus wants to become a nonnuclear and neutral state. Second, the quick restructuring of many defense facilities, compared with other republics of the former USSR, allows us to confidently count on assistance in the conversion. We should also take advantage of the stable political situation in the Republic, which

allows us to calmly conduct the most important tasks of the conversion and reduction of conventional and strategic forces.

Official on CIS Economic, Monetary Union

WS0712140093 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Zalomay, state secretary for CIS matters at the Belarusian Council of Ministers, by Vladimir Deshkovets, under the "Way Out of Crisis: Government Program" rubric; place and date not given: "Vladimir Zalomay: 'We Are Doing Parliament's Will and Strengthening Sovereignty'"]

[Text] The "Key Trends of Action for Overcoming the Economic and Social Crisis in the Republic of Belarus" adopted by the Council of Ministers Presidium force one to think seriously about the progress of this process and the prospects for restoring the lost potential of the national economy. It has been decided to embark on the path of integration and economic union in this difficult stage of reform. What is this path like, and what has already been accomplished? Vladimir Zalomay, state secretary for CIS matters at the Belarusian Council of Ministers, has discussed these issues in an interview with Vladimir Deshkovets.

[Zalomay] The government has done the parliament's will. Thus, we are not "weakening" sovereignty or independence. Similar accusations directed toward us are exaggerated, to put it mildly. Esteemed opponents, let us be consistent to the end. The signing of documents on the economic and monetary union was nothing more than a logical continuation of the Viskuli agreement, which announced the establishment and development of common customs and economic space.

[Deshkovets] **...Which has not been implemented thus far.**

[Zalomay] Unfortunately, no. However, the legislature has voted for them today even after a heated debate. I assess this as the first significant step toward the implementation of the basic CIS principle—to act in cooperation.

[Deshkovets] **Nevertheless, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, what are the guarantees that the "new space" will not be restricted by the framework of old mistakes?**

[Zalomay] These guarantees are present in the very essence of the document. Based on the principles similar to those incorporated in the Declaration on Belarusian State Sovereignty, in particular—on free participation, respect for territorial integrity, and equality of parties' rights, the union opens a path for the free movement of goods and labor force, the settlement of credit and monetary relations, and the coordination of economic laws.

[Deshkovets] **The economic union will begin to function simultaneously—this is clear to any sensible politician, to say nothing of its opponents. Speaking about the designers themselves, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, did you have any doubts about the union?**

[Zalomay] We had fears that the agreement might suffer the fate of other accords which remained only on paper. While developing the mechanism for the implementation of the future union, we formulated extremely tough requirements for the fulfillment of assumed responsibilities by member states, the legal regulation of economic relations, and the coordination of national laws with the norms of international law.

[Deshkovets] **Did you mean some transitional period when you said "the future union?"**

[Zalomay] We will still have to attain the economic union. We have different starting positions: Ukraine is not Belarus, while Russia is not Kazakhstan. The question is when this will happen and how. There is a simple pattern in the world practice of interrelations and trade. According to which, it is necessary to rise from ordinary clearing trade or mutual barter accounts to a customs union, then move up to a common market, and finally reach a sort of Olympus with an economic union on its top. Our documents provide for such stages.

There is one more obvious issue. The implementation of separate stages may be extended over a long period. Meanwhile, each work day within the framework of artificially created barriers results in serious losses and introduces additional complications to the speed and orientation of economic reform. This also slows down the process of integration. I will note that exports to Russia account for 70 percent of the total trade turnover with former USSR countries. Our economy is dominated by industries that produce finished goods, which makes us dependent on suppliers of resources, spare parts, energy, and metals.

[Deshkovets] **What is the way out?**

[Zalomay] A thorough restructuring of the economy. The government has submitted such a program. Certainly, its implementation is problematic due to the absence of investments and a serious energy base.

The weakening of our integration with Russia has already resulted in lower competitiveness of most of our products on interstate and international markets. The unbalance in domestic and foreign prices in trade between the two countries has reached a critical point. That is why the signing of the bilateral agreement on the unification of monetary systems by both governments and national banks was not only a continuation of the commenced process, but also a definite resolution of the issue of mutual benefit. I believe that both sides will only gain from this.

What will we achieve as a result? Delays in settlements among enterprises will be removed. The market of credit reserves will be expanded. The monopoly of commercial banks and other financial structures will be restricted. Moreover, taxes on Belarusian enterprises will be lowered. Real possibilities for the liberalization of domestic and foreign trade will emerge.

Eventually, we will manage to balance the real incomes of the populations of both countries, encourage the movement of labor resources, prevent illegal reexports to third countries, and reduce the flow of capital abroad and illegal exports.

The benefits are obvious. Therefore, if our desire to speed up reform, stabilize the monetary system, and preserve legal sovereignty is unanimous, the future belongs to the economic union with Russia and other CIS countries. Our legislature has proven this. We know that the agreement on monetary union has been signed and ratified. We must work to bring this agreement in line with a number of laws, in particular, with the policies of customs, banks, the budget, and taxes. There are some differences in principle here, and they must be removed at this Supreme Soviet session.

[Deshkovets] **Vladimir Aleksandrovich, the last question undoubtedly interests everyone. What will be the value of the Belarusian "zoo" money [reference to pictures of animals] against the Russian ruble?**

[Zalomay] Given the evolutionary peculiarities of each state, this most probably key question cannot be answered unequivocally. For example, there is an opinion in Russia that it is necessary to introduce a national currency to clearly define the exchange difference. It is this requirement that was laid down for Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, to which the latter reacted accordingly. We were seen as having the right to have our national currency—payment coupons—as the only legal tender, because we appeared to be prepared for a monetary union best of all.

As for the exchange rate, both sides have assumed the commitment of seeking its gradual approximation to one to one. To this aim, we must strengthen the exchange rate of the Belarusian "hare" consistently. As you know, the state has neither gold nor hard currency reserves. We can only count on our own potential. We only need conditions to make this potential work. I am convinced that the establishment of the economic union, including a monetary union, will open up great prospects.

Legislative Committee Head Urges Adopting Constitution

WS0812083193 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in Belarusian 4 Dec 93 p 1

[Commentary by Dmitriy Bulakhov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Legislative Committee, compiled by Olga Shawko: "I Believe There Still Is Room for Concession"]

[Text] To assess the progress of Supreme Soviet discussions, we should point out one relevant circumstance. The constitution is both a legal and political document. There are no drawbacks with regard to the legal footing of the new constitution. A group of professionals capable of writing two or three hundred versions have been working on the text. The problem lies in the political aspect. For the constitution to reflect the political views of a majority of society, the draft must be preceded by political consultations. This means that deputies clubs should be urged to work out a single position, restrain their personal ambitions, and give preference to statesmanlike thinking. The constitution is not being drafted for bolsheviks or the Popular Front. It is being drafted for the state in which different parties function.

From this viewpoint, the process of political consultations was very unorganized, and the Constitutional Committee chairman is also to blame. It is ridiculous that Constitutional Committee sessions can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Then, the discussions that had to be held in the Committee were brought to the Supreme Soviet. The latter is currently being flooded with fruitless debates. The Constitutional Committee drafted no ready formulas, and due to this the adoption of the constitution is proceeding very sluggishly.

However, I do not abandon hope that there is still a place for concession. The articles that were once rejected straightaway, are currently receiving bigger attention. This concerns articles on human rights, presidential rule, courts, and prosecution. We are very slowly filling the gap, although this could have been done earlier and much more efficiently.

I cannot give any projections. I can only say that the Supreme Soviet must adopt the constitution to fulfill its moral obligation. The state cannot be abandoned without a constitution for another two years. A new Supreme Soviet will have to start from the beginning. Deputies will have to walk the same road that we once walked, discuss issues that have already been discussed, and seek compromise where we have found it. This is evident.

A state without a constitution is like a ship without a rudder and sails or a house without a foundation. This is going to be a rickety structure. If a constitution does not provide legal mechanisms for resolving problems, the latter are resolved by force. God save us from seeing this happen.

The discussion as to what is primary—the economy or politics—is a fallacy. Economic problems emerge when political issues remain unresolved. The issue of power is the most significant of these, because power is an instrument regulating different social processes. A surgeon cannot operate on a patient with a dull knife. However, the "knives" of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers are absolutely dull and unable to cut anything. Such instruments cannot regulate any processes in the state. This is why the adoption of a constitution by the current Supreme Soviet is so vital today. I think that every lawmaker should do everything to bring about its adoption.

Deputies Demand Early Elections

WS0712143893 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Belarusian 4 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Syargey Plytkevich: "Valeriy Tsikhinya Advocates Early Elections!"]

[Text] People's Deputy Valeriy Tsikhinya can hardly be suspected of sympathizing with the Belarusian Popular Front. However, at the 3 December session, he was the one who demanded that lawmakers do everything in their power to hold early parliamentary elections in March 1994. How has Tsikhinya arrived at this decision?

"Every intelligent man can see that the economic crisis has reached a critical mark. The Belarusian ship has been badly hit, but it is still afloat. What does Shushkevich, the captain of the ship, suggest in this situation? He suggests discussing the constitution. I find this irresponsible. I want to emphasize that we lack objective conditions for adopting a new constitution, because the economic structure of society has not developed yet. Even if we adopt a constitution, its life will be very short. Thus, we must handle economic issues first, adopt a new electoral law and do everything to hold elections in the spring."

However, appeals voiced by deputies during the discussion on current issues often remain unanswered. After Tsikhinya's speech, Deputy Hanchar took the floor and suggested holding an hour-long discussion on results of Vyacheslav Kebich's 3 December conference with Chernomyrdin. However, the proposal was rejected by a majority of deputies. Neither were Deputy Shut's questions to Prime Minister Kebich answered. Deputy Shut pointed out: "Free cheese is only put in mousetraps. I would like to know what the conditions were for Russia annulling our oil debt. Russia granted loans directly to gas producers, but we will have to repay them. I would like to know what the volume and the interest rate of the loans are and when we will have to repay them. My reaction to the agreement on Belarus' joining the ruble zone is this: As a deputy and a Belarusian citizen I feel offended by the Russian finance minister's remark that Belarus should become a part of Russia. Tell me: Will we join Russia or not? Perhaps it is time we stopped quarreling over the presidency and started discussing the post of governor?"

People's Deputy Shut asked a lot of other questions, too, but as I said, nobody answered them. After the discussion on current issues, the floor was given to Ministers of Agriculture Fedor Mirochitskiy and Energy Valentin Gerasimov. The essence of their reports was: We can no longer afford living the way we used to live before. An unusually cold November has just ended and there are forecasts for a bitter winter. The average reserve of fuel in the Republic's power plants is sufficient for ten days of operation or less. The aggregate debt of Belarusian consumers to power producers has reached 255 billion Belarusian rubles, while another 146 billion Russian rubles are to be paid to Russia.

However, life goes on and after the two reports, deputies started discussing a resolution on forming non-budget funds by local Soviets for maintenance of apartment houses owned by them. The resolution was adopted following a heated debate, and lawmakers went on to discuss the taxation policy.

The Supreme Soviet session is scheduled to continue on 7 December.

Deputy Supports Farm Subsidies, Rejects New Taxes

WS0712144993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Report by Mikhail Rutkowski]

[Text] Short reports opened today's Supreme Soviet session. The reports illustrated the sore issues of our life. Subconsciously, I was asking myself: Are we ever going to live a better life? Later, the rostrum was taken by National Bank Chairman Nikolay Bogdankevich who spoke of how the national currency is being stabilized and on the continued work to unify the Belarusian and Russian financial systems. Nikolay Bogdankevich proposed that deputies discuss this issue next week, which the deputies agreed to do. However, Zenon Paznyak took the floor and said that time is a factor and this issue has to be resolved today. Later, Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich proposed to continue the discussion of taxation issues. It is clear that the tax system has to be upgraded. However, as long as inflation is growing, we are going to have to bear the heavy weight of taxes, said People's Deputy Uladzimir Novik. Nevertheless, [words indistinct] our kolkhozes and sovkhozes are experiencing great difficulties. I invited Uladzimir Harkun, chairman of a Supreme Soviet commission, to comment on the issue.

[Begin recording] [Rutkowski] What are your proposals regarding taxes on our agricultural sector?

[Harkun] If we adopt the proposals submitted by the Ministry of Finances, they will lead us to a deadlock. The current financial situation in the agricultural sector is very complicated. At any rate, I would like to comment on the proposals of our Ministry of Finances. First, we have never had a value-added tax, while the draft tax bill proposes a 10-percent value-added tax on the agricultural sector (or 135 billion rubles per year). This will completely ruin our agricultural workers. In my opinion, this 10-percent tax will affect every citizen of the Republic because this tax will increase the price of agricultural produce. Hence, agricultural goods will become inaccessible to our people. Therefore, I am against the adoption of this tax. Our Ministry of Finances is trying to resolve the budget issues at the expense of the agricultural sector. Next, I would like to comment on social insurance. It is also encroaching on the agricultural sector. To my regret, our government has not submitted any proposals to decrease the tax burden.

[Rutkowski] What is the way out of this situation?

[Harkun] The government should not introduce new taxes for our agrarians. Instead, the state should go on subsidizing the agricultural sector. [end recording]

Parliament Urges Closure of Chernobyl Power Plant

LD0812103793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0748 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk, 7 Dec—The Parliament of Belarus has called on Ukraine to revise its decision to continue the operation of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, where the

the most horrifying nuclear disaster in the history of humanity struck seven years ago.

The appeal, in particular, reads as follows: "Approximately 20 percent of our state budget is allocated to the settlement of problems associated with Chernobyl. We call on the parliament of Ukraine to return once again to the issue of the Chernobyl power plant and hold conferences jointly with Belarus to find possible ways out of this complex situation. One cannot rule out the possibility of another disaster which will exterminate our people."

The explosion and fire at the Chernobyl power plant in April 1986 contaminated vast areas in Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia and caused 8,000 deaths in Ukraine alone. Around 70 percent of the radiation spread to Belarus.

Central Bank Denies Rumors on National Currency

WS0712114593 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The 'Hare' Is King"]

[Text] Rumors about introducing a new Belarusian currency, the taler, as of 1 January 1994, were summed up at the Belarusian National Bank as follows: "This is out of the question. A resolution currently being drafted by the Council of Ministers must have given rise to the rumors. This resolution will declare the Belarusian 'hare' the only legal tender in Belarus for a transitional period."

Thus, the government has finally made a decision concerning the fate of the Belarusian financial system, granting the Central Bank of Russia a right to determine it. The resolution will be made public in the next few days—the Council of Ministers discussed this issue at its 1 December session.

Popular Movement Calls For New Currency, Elections

WS0712114393 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Viktar Dzyatlovich: "Popular Movement and Popular Front Are Twins"]

[Text] At a news conference on 1 December, Belarusian Popular Movement Chairman Syargey Haydukevich spoke in favor of introducing a national currency. He stated that if this decision is not adopted at the current Supreme Soviet session, the Popular Movement will be in opposition to the government and demand the latter's resignation. According to Syargey Haydukevich, this decision is necessary to make the process of entering the ruble zone more civilized and to safeguard Belarusian interests in case Russia fails to observe its commitments stipulated by the agreement on the unification of currencies.

Syargey Haydukevich stated that the Popular Movement, including its Supreme Soviet faction numbering 68 deputies and 88 supporters, will oppose the adoption of a chapter in the draft constitution envisioning the introduction of a presidency in the Republic. He also criticized a proposal to call presidential elections in spring 1994, voiced by the deputies' faction "Belarus."

The Popular Movement chairman supported the idea of early elections for the legislature in spring 1994, although, according to him, the movement failed to reach an agreement on this issue with the "Belarus." Speaking of chances that the Supreme Soviet will make a decision to hold early elections, Haydukevich deemed them "very insignificant." He pointed out that the Popular Movement could receive some 170 to 180 votes in the legislature. Adding 28 votes from the Popular Front faction and 12 from the Party of People's Accord, will increase the total number to 210, while a minimum of 230 votes is needed to adopt the resolution.

Moldova

CSCE Urges Russia To Withdraw Troops From Moldova

LD0712182893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 7 TASS—The overwhelming majority of member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) are supporting the aspiration of Moldova to settle the conflict in the Dniester region by peaceful means. At the same time they expect the Moldovan leadership to put forward new specific proposals on the settlement of this problem, Ion Botnaru, acting foreign minister of Moldova, said here today commenting on the results of the Rome meeting of foreign ministers of member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Participants in this meeting urged all sides to accelerate the process of working out a special status of the Dniester region within the context of independence and territorial integrity of the Moldovan Republic. This means first of all setting up a working group which will draw up a draft of a special status of the Dniester region, Ion Botnaru believes. According to the Moldovan acting foreign minister, the estimates of the situation in Moldova which were included in the final document of the Rome meeting, are a significant step forward.

Ministers welcomed the activities of the CSCE mission in Moldova and its recommendations for the settlement of the conflict in the Dniester region. At the proposal of the Moldovan delegation a number of clauses were approved which strengthen the mission's mandate. Specifically, the mission is assigned to observe more closely the process of the talks on the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova. Participants in the Rome meeting of the member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe believe that the CSCE mission should be present at these negotiations as observers, work jointly with the United Control Commission for the Settlement of the Conflict and freely move in the security zone.

Leaders of member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe spoke for the soonest withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova without any connection with other problems, Ion Botnaru stressed. According to him, this means the Russian Army withdrawal should not be linked to the settlement of other problems as Russia views it.

Ministers gave instructions to the CSCE mission to continue watching the observance of human rights in Moldova, including individual cases, such as the current trial in Tiraspol of supporters of the People's Front of Moldova—the so-called "Ilashku's group" which was accused of terrorism by the Dniester region authorities. For the first time, the theme of this trial was discussed at such a high level and included in an international document, the acting foreign minister of Moldova emphasised.

The organization of human rights and democratic institutions were assigned to continue cooperation with Moldova in the legal field and be prepared to act in the role of a main organization which will act as observers at the forthcoming parliamentary elections in all regions of Moldova scheduled for February 1994.

Kazakhstan

Supreme Council Resumes Work in Closed Session

LD0812111993 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0900 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] The 11th session of the Supreme Council resumed its work in Almaty today. Supreme Council Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin gave a welcoming speech at the opening ceremony. President Nursultan Nazarbayev is participating in the work of the session.

After adopting the agenda, the deputies decided to hold a closed sitting. The parliament's work is currently in progress.

Elections Reportedly Set for 7 Mar

LD0812072593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0715 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By KAZTAG corespondent Ivan Zakharchenko and ITAR-TASS correspondent Amangheldy Akhmetalimov]

[Text] Almaty December 8 TASS—According to informed sources, the session of the parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan today reached a decision on holding elections to the new parliament and local bodies of representative power on March 7, 1994.

The decision was made behind closed doors after the parliament opened its autumn-winter session with the recognition of the fact that the republic needs a new, professional legislature working on a standing basis in accordance with the fundamental law of Kazakhstan.

This was stressed by parliament Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin in his opening speech, after which the parliament decided to continue the session behind closed doors.

Science Minister Cited on Options for Baykonur

PM0712133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Baykonur Under the Hammer?"]

[Text] At a news conference in Almaty Galym Abilsiitov, minister of science and new technologies, reported that Kazakhstan does not have its own space program and, consequently, the Baykonur Cosmodrome has to be preserved for the sake of the Russian space program.

He also stated the need to set up without delay an international space company involving foreign capital "for the sake of saving" the cosmodrome and to open it for the implementation of very diverse international commercial projects.

"If this option is not adopted, Kazakhstan is prepared to consider the question of leasing the Baykonur Cosmodrome and the city of Leninsk to Russia on condition that Russia takes over all the costs," G. Abilsiitov said. In that case Kazakhstan will require reimbursing for the expenditure on Baykonur over the past 2.5 years, the minister said.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Rebuts Corruption Charges

PM0812100593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Kamil Bayalinov, including interview with President Askar Akayev by Bayalinov; place and date not given: "Is 'Gold Fever' Curable? Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev Comments on Results of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Investigation"]

[Text] This session of the Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet is opening against the background of the latest major furor. Following publication of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's article "How Bishkek Crossed 'Seabeco's' Palm With Gold" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA from 24 November), which related the fate of the republic's gold reserve, a number of local newspapers have published the secret notes of the deputies' "gold" commission. Fat brochures prepared beforehand by commission members in Moscow have been passed from hand to hand.

"Members of the corrupt Kyrgyzstan Government have squandered the state's gold reserve to suit their own personal interests"—this is the basic theme of the commission's conclusions. In conclusion the deputies demand "that T. Chyngyshev be relieved of his duties as prime minister and that K. Nanayev step down from his position as director of the National Bank for causing the collapse of Kyrgyzstan's economy, squandering the gold and foreign currency reserves, and encouraging foreign mafia companies to plunder the country's wealth...."

In Bishkek people are no longer in any doubt that dismissals will follow this discussion of the government's work in the period under review. Parliament has rejected all suggestions of compromise and is in combative and decisive mood.

In these conditions, Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev has deemed it necessary to meet with your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent and explain his position regarding the newspaper article and the "gold" commission's material.

On the whole, Askar Akayev agreed with the newspaper's concern for the fate of Kyrgyzstan's gold reserve, but he wanted to clarify a number of issues connected in one way or another with his name.

We quote here a short recording of our interview with the Kyrgyz president, which, of course, went beyond the framework of the topic under discussion.

[Akayev] How did the "Seabeco Group" come to Kyrgyzstan? It is very simple. We ourselves had sought contacts with firms of this kind so that they could provide intermediary services in the matter of delivering Kyrgyz gold to a reliable bank in a reliable country. Even before the breakup of the USSR it was clear that sooner or later the former Union republics would have to switch to their own currencies. But in order to do this they would need

money, large amounts of money. Thus the British printers asked us for approximately $8 million to print our soms. But we were unable to find this sort of money except by depositing Kyrgyz gold in a foreign bank. On the other hand the "Seabeco" firm was looking to expand its sphere of activity. At one level our interests coincided.

Boris Birstein made a strong impression on us. First, by his respectability. He had his own aircraft and stayed in Moscow at places where only the most powerful Politburo members were admitted. Birstein did not hide this and was proud of his links with the great and the good. Second, his commercial proposals were in tune with the spirit of what we were looking for.

So via "Seabeco" we started to dispatch gold concentrate for refining in Switzerland, since at that time we did not have a refinery of our own. To ensure that not a gram of gold went astray and to assuage my conscience, on each occasion I sent my own man to accompany the consignment—General of the Presidential Bodyguard Zhoomart Boshkoyev.

[Bayalinov] But Askar Akayevich, at some point the money received for the Kyrgyz gold started to go astray. According to my calculations (and this tallies with the commission's findings), Kyrgyzstan lost at least $4 million.

[Akayev] I cannot rule out any mercenary motives as far as this is concerned, but most of the losses occurred through the inexperience and muddleheadedness of a number of government officials. Otherwise how can we explain the fact that our officials paid the same bill twice—one time, moreover, in meat? Many billions of rubles are still hanging around in Russia, and Kyrgyzstan has not seen so much as a gram of anything for this money.

It is clear that if you get rid of all your officials today, you will have to employ the very same people the next day. Only they will be even more rapacious. Moreover, this is not just a problem in Kyrgyzstan. I am absolutely convinced that all the IMF and World Bank programs in the countries where they have operated have been 90 percent screwed up by state officials.

[Bayalinov] So how can we get rid of corruption in the state sphere?

[Akayev] Probably by cutting the number of apparatus staff while increasing their pay many times over. Because if they continue to be employed on such a miserable salary, they will always find loopholes enabling them to boost their income to the required level. However, the entire issue revolves around something else: How are we to find these necessary resources?

[Bayalinov] If every ranking official starting with the president were to fill out an income declaration, many of these issues would be dealt with automatically. Isn't that right?

[Akayev] I will agree to report my income. My pay as president is 500 soms a month (about $50). The state pays me another 200 soms as an academician. That is all. Were it not for this partial state support, things would be very tight for me. Until recently my major source of income came from royalties, including payments in foreign currency, for several books I have published on computer programs. Using this money, I have sent my eldest daughter Bermet abroad to study in Switzerland.

[Bayalinov] Meanwhile people are saying that her education is being paid for by Boris Birstein....

[Akayev] Bermet, who speaks five languages fluently, sat a competitive examination at the Lausanne management school. Initially my royalties were enough to keep her there. I won't hide the fact that she now gets assistance from my old Russian scientific colleagues. I have heard similar stories regarding my son Aydar, who has been living in Washington for three months and is getting ready to start at the University of Maryland. He went there to compete on equal terms with everyone else and is living with my old friend Academician Roald Sagdeyev, who is a professor at the same university.

So I have not spent a cent from state treasury funds on my children's education, nor are they being educated out of some businessman's pocket; so what have I done to upset the press—including your newspaper—that is so wrong? Do you object to the fact that I want to give my children a good education?

[Bayalinov] Mr. President! There are rumors about your houses and villas....

[Akayev] I own a single four-room apartment in Bishkek which I was given because I was head of department at the Polytechnical Institute. The apartment is located on the fifth floor of a far from prestigious building. At the end of the 1980's, before I became president, I built a dacha using the money I received from royalties and my sizable pay as director of the Academy of Sciences. Since becoming president I have not been there at all, in order to stop tongues from wagging needlessly. The dacha (which has been described as a villa) has two stories and is completely indistinguishable from the dachas of other professors and academicians. That's all there is to it. So it would be better to stop looking for nonexistent apartments and private residences. Today, as head of state, I am temporarily living in a state residence....

[Bayalinov] You are often accused of making numerous foreign trips. Your opponents are naming the foreign currency sums that are spent on preparing for these visits.

[Akayev] I have gone on visits at the state's expense only twice (although you will agree that this is absurd as well), to the United States. These expenses are nothing to compare with the money I netted for the republic, a total of $300 million! On each occasion I was able to meet with key secretaries, the Vice President, and the President.

Incidentally, my retinue usually comprises 15-30 people, whereas some of my colleagues leave for foreign trips in two or more aircraft.

[Bayalinov] Is it true that the president of one of the largest CIS states was not even received by the head of the U.S. State Department?

[Akayev] I heard that too.

[Bayalinov] The material compiled by the deputies' commission on gold talks about the "unlawful nature of the presidential fund."

[Akayev] The Kyrgyz president's fund has received $145,000. At the present time a total of $13,300 has been spent, mainly on educating talented students overseas. And this is termed extravagance? What, is the president of the state forbidden to have a foreign currency fund? Incidentally, I am not entitled to spend a single dollar on myself personally or my family.

[Bayalinov] Askar Akayev, what can you say about the article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA? Were the facts cited in it objective?

[Akayev] During our talk I have already partially answered this question. Well, let me stress once again that raising problem issues is the inalienable right of both the journalist and the newspaper. [Akayev ends]

Another viewpoint on the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article "How Bishkek Crossed 'Seabeco's' Palm With Gold" is provided by the Kyrgyzstan prime minister. In a telegram addressed to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's chief editor, he says:

"I am obliged to inform you that your article degrades the honor and dignity of myself and other leaders of the republic. The facts presented in the article are without foundation, fabricated, insulting, defamatory, and can be refuted by existing documents.... In accordance with current legislation, I reserve the right to appeal to judicial organs in order to defend my honor and dignity."

So there you have it, the reactions of two Kyrgyzstan leaders. These reactions demonstrate the enormous polarity of forces within the republic's public opinion on the eve of a parliamentary session that promises to be very heated.

Akayev Urges Support for Referendum Decision

LD0712172793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] In Kyrgyzia, President Akayev has urged parliament to support his decision to hold a referendum on trust in him on January 30, 1994. Addressing parliament in Bishkek, he noted that the move complied with the republic's constitution. In his words, the decision was not rushed and was contemplated during the last 3-4 months.

Akayev's address was prompted by doubt cast by some legislators on the need to hold a referendum on confidence in the president.

At Tuesday's session, lawmakers changed the agenda by making the number one issue in it an account by the Speaker Medetkan Sherimkulov of the parliamentary presidium's work. A cabinet spokeksman will report on how the government has performed this year and on how it plans to promote economic reform.

Legislators will debate the activity of the parliamentary commission concerning the use of gold reserves. As is known, the disclosure of the government's use of the gold reserve has evoked a mixed reaction in Kyrgyzia.

Kyrgyz Parliament Opens Session

LD0712154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek December 7 TASS—A session of Zhogorku Kenesh, the Kyrgyz parliament, opened in Bishkek, the capital of the republic, on Tuesday.

Deputies began the session by appealing to President Askar Akayev to annul his decree on a referendum on confidence in the head of the state scheduled for January 30 next year. They also rejected the Presidium's proposal to hold pre-term elections to the parliament next spring.

The deputies approved an agenda of the session, which consists of 122 items. The most important among them are a report of the government, the problem of Kyrgyz gold and the election law.

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Meets With Russian Peace Envoy

LD0712185193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1537 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Dushanbe, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Imamali Rakhmanov, head of the Tajik state, has once again confirmed the republican leadership's firm intentions to settle the existing problems by peaceful political means, and expressed hope for reciprocal constructive steps by political forces of different orientations who are interested in stabilizing the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country as soon as possible. He said this today at a meeting with Aleksandr Oblov, the Russian Government's special envoy and head of the mission to assist Tajik settlement, who arrived in Dushanbe on an official visit yesterday evening. The sides discussed domestic and foreign aspects of the Tajik problem, and the urgent measures needed to attain peace, calm, and national reconciliation on Tajik land as soon as possible. The Tajik leader expressed deep gratitude to the Russian side for all-round support and selfless assistance in stepping up the democratic processes of stabilizing the republic's political situation and economy.

The Russian diplomat also met Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov today. The Russian Government's special envoy is continuing his visit.

Rakhmanov Addresses Dushanbe Teachers, Students

LD0712135793 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, met with students, scholars, and teachers of the colleges of the capital today. Our correspondent reports:

[Unidentified correspondent] Dear listeners, as this report is being broadcast the meeting between Imamali Rakhmanov, head of our state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, and representatives of the colleges, veterans of war and labor, students, teachers, and scholars of the colleges of the republic is continuing. [passage omitted]

Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, made the opening speech.

[Begin Rakhmanov recording] A year has passed since the formation of a new leadership of the republic. During this year the most important aims of our people—putting an end to the senseless bloodshed and preserving the integrity of our newly independent state—were ensured. I want to remind you that in these difficult days, I personally and all officials of the republic are aware of many difficult problems of your life and study. Similarly, we are aware of the fact that today's students need much assistance and support by the state and government of the republic. We are concerned about all the problems, beginning from the repairs to halls of residence to the provision of food and preserving the scholarships. [end recording]

The representatives of all colleges of the capital spoke about their urgent problems. They also proposed to form a students foundation and to organize the sale of food and winter clothes in shops which are near the halls of residence and colleges and to improve the provision of students cafeterias. [passage omitted]

Trials of Active Members of Armed Opposition Open

LD0712103693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1004 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 12 TASS—Trials of active members of the armed opposition are continuing in Tajikistan. Put in the dock this time is Mullo Fayziyev, one of the organisers of the illegal militarised "Nadjoti Vatan" (Save the Homeland) organisation, which was set up last May by the Democratic Islamic Bloc in order to overthrow by force the constitutional system in the republic. Tajik law enforcement bodies possess evidence that this organisation is responsible for the recruitment of armed opposition detachments in different regions of the country, especially in its southern part, that provoked the fratricidal war which has claimed many human lives.

In addition to that, Fayziyev is accused of direct complicity in capturing hostages from among his ideological opponents, including Tajik correspondent Dzhuma Khotamov, who was tortured, humiliated, and invalided by opposition fighters.

ITAR-TASS was told by officials of the Tajik Supreme Court's public relations centre that thirteen people have already been sentenced for various crimes since December 1992, when the first efforts were exerted to restore the constitutional system in Tajikistan. The trial of prominent Tajik poet Bozor Sabir is also being continued. He was arrested in the spring of 1992 on charges of issuing anti-government public appeals and complicity in the capture of hostages from among parliament members of the republic, as well as some other crimes. Local analysts believe the trial of Bozor Sabir may end up in a suspended punishment in reply to the recent appeal addressed to the court by Chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Imamali Rakhmanov. Several representatives of international human rights organisations and the U.N. mission in Tajikistan have received with approval this step by the head of the republic and have described it as "a humane and politically timely step".

Turkmenistan

Shikhmuradov on Policy Regarding CIS

LD0712184793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1559 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat December 7 TASS—The fact a regular Commonwealth summit will be held in Ashgabat is indicative of correctness of the Turkmen stand on the Commonwealth, Turkmen Vice-Premier Boris Shikhmuradov told ITAR-TASS here today.

In his words, the republic has insisted on an essentially new integration basis in the Commonwealth since the day of its emergence - a constructive dialogue, multilateral consultations, account of and respect for stands of Commonwealth members would help to consolidate their political and economic independence.

This time Turkmenistan plans to put forward more initiatives within the context of Commonwealth consolidation with the sovereign equality rights in the system of international relations, as well as on the basic of common history and aggregate political, economic and humanitarian potential, said Shikhmuradov.

In the opinion of Turkmen politicians, the Commonwealth should be open to the Baltic republics and other states which would think it necessary to integrate with the new historical bloc on principles of equality and civilized partnership.

Accord Signed With Iran on Joint Industrial Plant

LD0812025193 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] On the basis of a memorandum of understanding signed by the two countries, Iran and Turkmenistan are to establish a jointly owned and operated industrial plant in Turkmenistan.

The said memorandum was signed today by Minister of Mines and Metals Mahluji for Iran and by the vice president of Turkmenistan for his country.

On the basis of the said memorandum of understanding, the two countries will cooperate to set up brick kilns and plants to produce kaolin and other building materials in Turkmenistan.

During his three-day visit to Turkmenistan, Mr. Mahluji met Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov as well as several other officials of that country. During these meetings ways and means of cooperation between the two countries in various fields, especially in mining operations in Turkmenistan, were explored.

Oil Minister Meets With Turkish Energy Minister

TA0712145293 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1100 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Report over video by Asli Safak in Ashgabat]

[Text] Energy and Natural Resources Minister Veysel Atasoy met with Turkmen Oil and Gas Minister Nasar Suyunov. The cost of the various routes for transporting Turkmenistan's natural gas to Turkey and the ways to finance this project were discussed during the meeting. Atasoy said that there are plans to transport the natural gas from Turkmenistan, which has one of the richest natural gas reserves in the world, to Turkey via the Caspian Sea, Baku, and Iran.

Suyunov, in turn, said that Turkmenistan agrees with Turkey on the route for the transportation of the natural gas and wants Turkey to be the first to benefit from its natural gas resources. Recalling that Turkmenistan held talks with Iranian officials, Suyunov declared that there will not be any problems regarding the transportation of the natural gas via Iran.

The transportation of Turkmen electricity to Europe via Turkey was also discussed at the meeting. Later, working groups were established in the fields of petroleum, gas, electricity, energy, and cotton trading, areas in which Turkish businessmen plan to invest.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Says Production Decline Halted

LD0712203493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Uzbek President Islam Karimov said that production decline had stopped in his country. The industrial output in 1993 has grown by six percent on that in 1992.

Speaking at a meeting in the run up to Constitution Day, December 8, the Uzbek leader said that the country's leaders worked for gradual denationalization and privatization. A total of 41,500 businesses have been privatized in the republic. The local industry, trade, diners, and services have been taken over by private businesses.

Karimov also said that "a first step" had been made to stabilize the national monetary system and introduce a national currency. The minimal wage in Uzbekistan was 24,300 sum-coupons and pension, 26,325 sum-coupons beginning with December 1. The coupon was made equal to the Russian ruble, the president emphasized.

The Uzbek leader also said that over 70 countries had established diplomatic relations with Tashkent since independence, 40 countries opened their embassies there. The foreign trade turnover amounted to $1.3 Bn [billion] in 1993, he said.

Central Bank Head on Introduction of New Currency

LD0712203793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Uzbekistan's Central Bank said the republic's interim currency, sum coupons, were a means of defending the republic's domestic consumer market against an inflow of depreciated pre-1993 rubles.

A release issued by the bank's press center on Tuesday says the coupons will be replaced by a permanent currency, the sum, but gives no exact date for this.

Central Bank Chairman Faizulla Mulladzhanov told Interfax the reason for last month's hasty withdrawal of 5000- and 10,000-ruble notes issued in 1992 from circulation had been necessary to prevent the "instant devastation" of the domestic market by a tide of old rubles.

Mulladzhanov said the procedure for the introduction of the sum would essentially differ from those used by the neighboring republics. He said there would be no simple exchange of cash. Instead, the money would be exchanged via savings banks. "When the reform is over, the depositor will receive the sum he has deposited and the interest on it in the principal currency (sums)," he said.

Armenia

Azerbaijan Reportedly Shells Karabakh Positions

NC0712190493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that the situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border today was calm with no incidents reported.

But the Azerbaijani side is continuing its periodic shelling of Karabakh Army positions. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters reported that fire was opened on Karabakh's defensive positions involving tanks, armored cars, and Howitzers from the direction of (Ganandzhaly) settlement in Agdamskiy Rayon last night. The shelling stopped only after counter measures were taken. According to preliminary reports, there are injured on the Karabakh side.

Relative calm prevails on the other fronts.

Faction Claims Turkey Planning To Shell Armenia

NC0712193693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1233 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 7 (SNARK)—The Turkish military forces are preparing long-distance bomb shellings of Armenia in the middle of December. They will shell the important points on the territory of Armenia, including the Armenian Atomic Station. These data were received from the Information and Analysis Center of the Armenian Bureau of the "Dashnaktsutyun" Armenian Revolutionary Faction [Federation]. "Dashnaktsutyun" cites the competent sources, in particular, the French special services.

Bagrat Sadoyan, Head of the Information Department of the mentioned Center, told SNARK the Turkish military officials are expected to justify the action by the fact of the existence of the bases of the Kurdic Labour Party [Kurdish Workers Party].

According to the received data, the bomb shelling will be done through the territory of the Nakhichevan Republic to intensify the explosive situation existing in the region, Bagrat Sadoyan told. The data on the bomb shelling are within the policy course Turkey is undertaking—that's why the Center is to inform the population and to let the people be aware beforehand.

Azerbaijan

Guliyev Meets With Iran's Rafsanjani in Tehran

NC0712172393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Rasul Guliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, is visiting Iran. Reports from Tehran said he was received by President Hashemi-Rafsanjani to whom he conveyed a letter from President Geydar Aliyev. Hashemi-Rafsanjani outlined the importance of relations between Iran and Azerbaijan. Referring to the situation between Azerbaijan and Armenia, he said: Iran contributes toward the international effort to have the Armenians withdraw from the territories they have occupied in Azerbaijan.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani also said he welcomed the development of bilateral political, economic, and [word indistinct] relations. Guliyev assessed the outcome of Hashemi-Rafsanjani's recent visit to Azerbaijan and welcomed Iran's humanitarian aid to our Republic. He also thanked Iran for its aid to Azerbaijan's refugees.

Tehran Radio said Guliyev held talks with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati on the general situation in the region, the way to obstruct the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan, and [words indistinct]. Guliyev and Velayati also exchanged views on documents signed between Iran and Azerbaijan. Guliyev urged Velayati to maintain Iran's political support for Azerbaijan. Velayati said Armenia's military forces must withdraw from the occupied territories in Azerbaijan and every political opportunity will be used to solve that problem.

Guliyev also held talks with the Iranian petroleum minister on bilateral cooperation on oil issues.

Official Says Armenia Disrespects CSCE Principles

LD0712145593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] During last week's conference of CSCE foreign ministers in Rome, Armenia reaffirmed its disrespect for the organization's principles, Fuad Akhundov, a senior official of the Azeri president's administration, told Interfax in Baku.

The accusation came as Akhundov was commenting on the Armenian delegation's refusal to include in the final resolution of the CSCE Rome conference a provision on the preservation of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

Akhundov has said that Yerevan is interested in dragging out the CSCE processes as it seeks to legalize its territorial acquisitions.

He said that the Armenian position is a flagrant violation of the CIS Charter which recognizes the inviolability of state borders and is against illegal territorial acquisitions. Akhundov believes that all CIS countries should react to the "challenge".

Guliyev: Foreign Support Bolsters Armenia

LD0812095493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] According to the News and Information Agency, Rasul Guliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, said that without foreign help Armenia would not have been able to wage the five-year war against Azerbaijan. In his view, the Armenian military machine is being financed by the Armenian diaspora, several Western countries, and certain CIS member-states.

The chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament said Cossack detachments and mercenaries are fighting with Nagorno-Karabakh units against the republic's armed forces. According to the same source's information from Novocherkassk, the leadership of the Union of Cossacks of the Don troop district denied a report by some of the mass media alleging participation by Cossacks of the Don and Caucasus in the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh on the Armenian side. The Cossacks who are fighting in the Nagorno-Karabakh army are just mercenaries, leaders of the Assembly of the Union of Cossacks of the Don troop district told members of the press.

Opposition Papers Closed; Martial Law Discussed

MK0712130093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 89, 7 Dec 93 (Signed to press 6 Dec) p 5

[Mekhman Gafarly report under the "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Opposition Newspapers Suspended. Suret Guseynov Insists on Declaring Martial Law in Republic"]

[Text] Last weekend, by directive of Nazim Ibragimov, general director of the "Azerbaijan" publishing house, the circulation of most Azerbaijani newspapers, primarily opposition ones, was suspended. Nazim Ibragimov, who was appointed to this post three days ago, explained this decision by a lack of printing equipment and paper for publishing all the newspapers. This explanation, however, did not suit Azerbaijan's opposition forces, all the more so because government newspapers, including AZERBAIJAN (organ of the Supreme Soviet), SES (organ of Geydar Aliyev's "Yeni Azerbaijan" party), MEYDAN (newspaper headed by Nemat Panakhov, an Aliyev loyalist) and EKRAN-EFIR, a publication of the Television Committee, have remained in circulation. According to opposition parties, such as the National Front, the Party of National Independence, Musavat, and others, the virtual closure of opposition newspapers took place after the parliament's failed attempt to legalize censorship. Under Geydar Aliyev's directive, the "Azerbaijan" publishing house is now subordinated to the presidential staff, which has created favorable conditions for controlling the press.

On Saturday, the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan issued a statement on closing opposition newspapers and imposing censorship of the press in the republic. The statement points out that this step by the republic's authorities has forced the opposition to take decisive measures.

Local observers believe that another reason for closing most newspapers was that many of them have recently published materials in support of former president Ayaz Mutalibov. The republican authorities decided thus to put an end to the popularization of their political opponents.

At the same time, the question of imposing martial law has been raised in the republic. Prime Minister Suret Guseynov insists on doing just this. Azerbaijani leaders have been divided on this issue: Supporters and opponents of the imposition of martial law have split into more or less equal numbers. President Geydar Aliyev has been maintaining a neutral stance. As for the parliament, it already declined to consider this subject at the beginning of November.

The opposition has issued a statement saying that "an attempt by the republic's current authorities to impose martial law has been prompted not by the difficult situation in the area of the Armenian- Azerbaijani conflict, but by the desire to quell the opposition and to launch political reprisals in the republic."

Parliament Declares Military Censorship on Press

NC0812121593 Baku AZERTAC in English 1010 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 7 (AZERTAC)—Today, Azerbaijan Parliament introduced military censorship in the Republic and suspended the operation of the Article 3 of the Azerbaijan Republic Law on mass communication/the article prevents censorship in the press.

The Parliament's decision is motivated by the fact that there have been many publications, which aggravated situation in the Republic by divulging state and military secrets, propagating defeat mood. The minister of mass media has been furnished with powers to temporarily suspend issues, which publish articles contradicting to state interests of Azerbaijan or humiliating honour and dignity of citizens.

According to some newspapers, Mr. Sabir Ruslankhorly, the minister of mass media, is against this decision and considers that decision will serve interests of the authorities, who do not bear criticism. The opposition considers the introduction of the military censorship first step on the road to political one.

Georgia

Abkhaz Troops Withdraw From Inguri River

LD0712144693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1158 GMT 7 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Abkhazian troops have withdrawn from defence positions along the Inguri River today. The troops have moved 25 kilometers into the Abkhazian territory and formed a line of defence along the Galidzga River on the outskirts of the town of Ochamchira, ITAR-TASS learned by telephone from the press-centre of the Georgian Defence Ministry.

Officials of the Defence Ministry say that the Abkhazian side has left the territory of the Gal region and part of the Ochamchira region. About 100,000 refugees who fled this area and found refuge in the neighbouring Zugdidi region have been returning home since Tuesday morning.

However, the press centre believes that despite this gesture of good will the Abkhazian side is far from being intent on resolving the conflict by peaceful means. According to the

Georgian Defence Ministry, on Tuesday morning, the Abkhazian artillery heavily shelled Georgian villages located high in the Condor Gorge, killing six civilians.

Abkhaz Official Denies Withdrawal

LD0712170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1538 GMT 7 Dec 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegleva]

[Text] Sochi, 7 Dec—Information that Abkhaz troops have left the fortified borders on Abkhazia's border along the Inguri river today and have withdrawn into the interior of the republic's territory, is not true. This information, which was spread by Georgian sources, was refuted in a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent by Bes'lan Bargandzhia, press secretary of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia. According to his information, Abkhazian troops are continuing to occupy their positions on the border along the Inguri, and no movement or redeployment of troops was carried out today. According to the report from the press secretary of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, today there were only occasional provocational actions on the part of individual Georgian servicemen along the line where the troops are facing each other along the Inguri, but no military operations have been conducted along the border.

Zviadist Unit Surrenders in Western Region

LD0812112493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Dec—Yet another detachment of Zviadists has surrendered today to Georgian Government troops, ITAR-TASS was told over the telephone by Valiko Gogolashvili, head of the press center of the republic's Ministry of Interior. He said Zviadists are losing their power base in west Georgia. In the last few days in the Mingreli region, 13 units of armor, two long-range guns, four anti-aircraft machine guns, several assault rifles, 18 grenade launchers, and munitions in large quantities have been surrendered to troops. The head of the press center maintains that Zviadists have lost support of the population after volunteers from the Confederation of Peoples of Caucasus appeared among Loti Kobalia armed formations on Georgian territory.

Shevardnadze Creates HQ on Abkhazia's Problems

AU0812073693 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 26 Nov 93 p 1

["Directive of the Georgian Head of State on the Creation of a Headquarters To Coordinate Work on Abkhazia's Problems"; place and date not given]

[Text] Proceeding from the necessity of resolving Abkhazia's problems in a timely and proper manner, to create a headquarters to coordinate work on Abkhazia's problems that is to be made up of the following persons:

Tamaz Nadareishvili—Republic of Georgia deputy prime minister (chief of the headquarters);
Jamlet Babilashvili—Republic of Georgia acting procurator general;
Igor Giorgadze—Republic of Georgia minister of security;
Zurab Erkvania—chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia;
Davit Iakobidze—Republic of Georgia minister of finances;
Boris Kakubava—member of the Georgian Parliament;
Shota Kviraia—Republic of Georgia minister of internal affairs;
Giorgi Qarqarashvili—Republic of Georgia minister of defense;
Alen Shushanishvili—Republic of Georgia chief military procurator;
Aleksandr Chikvaidze—Republic of Georgia minister of foreign affairs;
Vladimir Chikovani—commander of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs troops;
Valeri Chkheidze—commander of the Republic of Georgia border troops;
Londer Tsaava—chief state adviser to the Georgian head of state;
Nodar Javakhishvili—president of the Republic of Georgia National Bank.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze Forms Foreign Reserves Commission

LD0712183293 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1455 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 [dateline as received]—IBERIA reports that the head of state of the Republic of Georgia has issued a resolution on the "creation of state foreign currency reserves and coordination of their spending."

A commission was set up, whose aim will be to create foreign currency reserves, and provide for their economical utilization [gamokenebis ekonomikuri uzrunvelkopa]. The commission is led by the head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, himself. His deputy is Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia.

Ioseliani Favors Russian Military Presence

LD0712135393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] The chairman of the Georgian Temporary Committee in charge of the State of Emergency, Djaba Ioseliani, backs the proposal by Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray about the need to keep the Russian military contingent in the republic. In an interview to Interfax he said that the withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgia will violate the military balance in the region.

Ioseliani has said that interior forces were not yet completely formed in the republic. He believes it is necessary to create special units to maintain order inside the country. He said that the units are necessary since the population is

heavily armed and it would be difficult for the police to establish order in the country. Ioseliani believes that the units must obey the Interior Minister.

Speaking about the relationships between Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze and the parliament, Ioseliani favored the preservation of the republic's legislature. The parliament is criticized, but it supports the head of state in terms of the main solutions.

Russian Military Officials Comment on Accords

AU0712210093 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Golub, military adviser in the Russian Embassy in Georgia; and General Boris Dyukov, first deputy commander of the Group of Russian Forces in the Caucasus, by Inga Abgarova; place and date not given: "Official Russia Views the Signing of the Military Agreements With Georgia as a Huge Leap Forward; the Russian Military Believe Nothing Has Changed Regarding Their Situation; the Georgian Generals Are Keeping Silent...."]

[Text] The process of preparing a package of military documents between Georgia and Russia for signing was fairly complex. At each round of the negotiations, these documents were discussed, expanded, and suffered all kinds of changes. Finally, in October, a package was signed in Moscow by General Avtandil Tskitishvili and General Mikhail Kolesnikov, the heads of the General Staffs of both countries.

We offer the readers the views of Vladimir Golub, military adviser in the Russian Embassy in Georgia, and General Boris Dyukov, first deputy commander of the Group of Russian Forces in the Caucasus [GRFC], on this subject.

[Golub] I believe that military cooperation between Russia and Georgia is a very important sphere in mutual relations between the two states. It is gratifying that, in spite of several hitches connected with the signing that arose from events in Abkhazia, western Georgia, and Russia itself, these documents were, nevertheless, signed. It is precisely on account of these hitches that it was decided to sign the military agreements, which were pressing, before the conclusion of the main treaty between the two states. Naturally, the most important is the treaty between Russia and Georgia on the legal status of the Russian Federation military formations temporarily stationed throughout Georgia. Of course, this treaty represents a huge leap forward: After all, since the time of the declaration of independence by Georgia, Russian troops located here, to all intents and purposes, have had no rights and have been unprotected. Now, the presence of our troops in Georgia has assumed legal civilized forms that are laid down in the treaty.

I believe that the life of the GRFC has been made considerably easier. If the seizure of apartments belonging to servicemen is still taking place today, this is, in the main, being done by criminal elements and not by representatives of the [National] Guard.

I think that the signing of the military agreements suits the Georgian side as well. Military cooperation also presupposes assistance in the training of cadres and the development of military communications in general. This is not to mention the fact that the protection of communication lines by Russian troops did not play a minor role in the development of events in western Georgia.

[Dyukov] Let us begin by saying that the signing of such important documents about which we are speaking should have been implemented at a higher level. Of course, I realize that their signing does not mean their implementation in practice. However, certain steps, nevertheless, have to be taken. We have gotten so used to doing everything on paper.... For example, a mixed commission, necessary for the resolution of disputes between the Russian and Georgian military, was created on paper but is not functioning to this day.

In spite of the signing of the documents, one of which is an agreement guaranteeing the inviolability of the living accommodation of Russian servicemen, an incident, nevertheless, did occur. An appalling fact: the seizure of the apartment of Colonel Ponomarev who, at the time, was engaged in the evacuation of refugees from Svaneti. Of course, there are among the agreements signed those that operate, so to speak, in a slipshod manner. These are the agreements on the safety of flights performed by our aircraft and postal and radio communications on the territory of Georgia and on the procedure for the movement and presence of Russian naval vessels in Georgian waters and ports. However, all this is relative.

Economics Minister Jibuti Resigns

LD0812093093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Georgian Economics Minister Mikhail Jibuti has resigned. Jibuti issued a statement saying that the reason for his resignation was that he was fundamentally opposed to the existing economic policy pursued by the government, as well as the government's style and methods of management.

Bread Supply 'Critical'; Rationing in Tbilisi

LD0812122493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 8 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi December 8 TASS—Three hundred grams of bread per day will be sold to the inhabitants of the Georgian capital Tbilisi from Thursday. The resolution of the Tbilisi mayor's office also decrees the sale of three kilograms of flour per person a month.

It was originally planned to provide 400 grams per person a day but then it was decided to sell flour as part of the ration in order to ensure the physiological survival minimum.

The situation with bread supplies is also critical in other residential areas of Georgia. Bakeries cannot cope because of frequent disconnections of electricity supplies and the lack of motor fuel for vehicles delivering bread to shops.

Estonia

President Signs Friendship Treaty in Turkey

LD0812120493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0700 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] President Lennart Meri and the delegation accompanying him will be returning to Estonia today. During the state visit which has now ended they visited Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey. Yesterday the Estonian and Turkish heads of state signed a friendship and cooperation treaty between the two countries. The parties agreed to develop and expand their relations in all spheres on the basis of mutual benefit [word indistinct] and cooperation.

Russian Embassy Official Details Election Proceedings

WS0812124093 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1726 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Russian citizens residing in Estonia can participate in their country's parliamentary elections on Sunday [12 December] at six polling stations in Tallinn and Narva.

"...the elections in Russia will be held in Estonia on one day only—December 12. There will be no preliminary elections," Vassili Ostaptchuk from Russia's embassy told ETA.

The polls open at 8 a.m. in Tallinn and border town Narva.

Before the elections, three consultation and information offices will open in Tallinn and Narva, Ostaptchuk said.

"These are merely consultation and information offices, we will engage in no propaganda abroad," he added.

As of December 1, there were 41,489 Russian citizens in Estonia, Ostaptchuk said while adding he had no information how many of them were old enough to participate in elections.

Money Budgeted for Embassies in Rome, Warsaw, Tokyo

WS0712124093 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1723 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 6—Estonia will next year open its embassies in Rome, Warsaw and Tokyo, Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste told the parliament briefing on Monday while adding these expenses have been included in the 1994 draft national budget.

The Foreign Ministry is already searching for suitable candidates to take up positions in the embassies and looking for suitable houses, the ministry's advisor, Raul Molk, told ETA.

Latvia

Ulmanis Foresees Agreement on Radar Station Withdrawal

LD0612153193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Latvia's State President Guntis Ulmanis told a news conference today that the timescale for the withdrawal of the Skrunda radar station from Latvia will be set in a relevant agreement which should be reached by Latvian and Russian state leaders at the highest level. Ulmanis explained that issues of taking over the station's guard and the presence of international observers could also be tackled at talks between delegations of both states, which resumed in Jurmala today. Ulmanis also considers it possible for other states to take part in tackling problems related to Skrunda. He also considers it is necessary to set up an international commission of experts, which would assess the Skrunda radar station's effect on human health. On 4 December, Ulmanis, together with Dainis Turlais, commander of the Latvian defense forces, visited the Skrunda radar. During the visit, Russian officials agreed with Ulmanis' proposals on the presence of international observers and servicing of the Skrunda radar station by civil personnel.

The station is at present serviced by approximately 300 people, mostly officers and noncommissioned officers of the Russian Army. The largest early warning radar in Europe at the disposal of Russia is located at the Skrunda radar station. It surveys Europe, Greenland, and North Africa at an altitude of more than 120 kilometers. Similar but smaller capacity surveillance stations are situated in Ukraine and Murmansk.

According to Ulmanis, a huge amount of the most complicated equipment worth billions is situated at the station.

President Ulmanis Wants Union With Nordic Countries

LD0712193493 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Latvia wants closer cooperation with the Nordic countries. The Latvian president will, on his visit to Finland tomorrow, assess the groundwork for creating a joint union of the Nordic countries and the Baltic countries. The union planned by President Guntis Ulmanis between the three Baltic countries and the five Nordic countries will be an economic and a security policy union. Our correspondent Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen interviewed Guntis Ulmanis yesterday.

[Maeaettaenen] According to Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, a strong enough union between the Baltic and the Nordic countries will also help to improve relations between Russia and the Baltic countries. Ulmanis is advocating a new kind of security policy alliance in the area of [word indistinct] and he wants to hear President Mauno Koivisto's stance on this matter, among others.

Ulmanis's message to Finnish economic life is: Continue (?without tax) to Latvia. Of the firm economic targets he mentioned to the Finnish journalists today, is a gas pipeline from Norway via Finland to the Baltic countries, in which case Latvia will be independent from gas deliveries from Russia.

Ulmanis answered very carefully questions concerning the Russian Army. According to him, Russia should withdraw its troops by the end of the current year, although Russia has announced that it will withdraw by next autumn. According to Ulmanis, one problematic matter is the fate of the Skrunda radar station by the Baltic Sea. President Ulmanis was the first Latvian to visit the military area, which he went to two days ago. Ulmanis emphasized that Skrunda, which is in the hands of the Russians, is closer to Helsinki than Riga [as heard]. Latvia cannot on its own get an agreement on changing the effective radar station for civilian use.

President Guntis Ulmanis described the nationality law proposition—the hottest question of Latvian politics—as very liberal and adhering to European justice norms. He also reiterated that Latvia has the right to keep their country as a nation-state. [passage omitted]

This is Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen in Riga, which according to the Latvian president can again, in 10 years time, be called the Paris of the Baltic countries.

Russian-Latvian Talks on Troop Withdrawal Continue

LD0712181893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Latvian-Russian talks on the Army withdrawal are continuing in the House of Science at Lielupe in Jurmala today. Russia's proposal to withdraw troops from Latvia by next September, keeping under its control the Skrunda radar station for another six years, is being discussed. Latvia's proposal on the future use of the Skrunda radar station, its servicing and control, is also considered at the talks.

According to unofficial information, an issue concerning the future of the Skrunda radar station and its dismantling is included in the basic agreement on the troop withdrawal as a separate constituent part that cannot be signed before an agreement on the time-scale for the withdrawal has been reached. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Finnish Premier Arrives for Official Visit

LD0712190293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho is in Vilnius this morning on an official one-day visit. The distinguished guest and members of the Finnish delegation were met at the airport by Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, Finnish Ambassador to Lithuania Taisto Veikko Tolvanen, and other officials.

Seimas Approves Amendments on Citizenship Claims

WS0812121993 Tallinn BNS in English 1819 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 07, BNS - The Lithuanian Seimas (parliament) adopted Tuesday by a majority of votes amendments to the citizenship legislation that significantly simplify restoration of Lithuanian citizenship for those citizens of the pre-war Lithuania who were forcibly taken away from it and for their children.

One amendment enables ethnic Lithuanians who had a Lithuanian citizenship before June 15, 1940, their children, other people who had Lithuanian citizenship prior to that date and people who were exiled or emigrated from Lithuania in the period from June 15, 1940 to March 11, 1990 and still residing in other countries to regain their Lithuanian citizenship.

No restrictions will be imposed in restoration of Lithuanian citizenship for those who are citizens of other countries. This virtually creates a precedent for dual citizenship which has been allowed thus far for the few ethnic Lithuanians who were citizens of other countries and whose Lithuanian citizenship was restored for their exceptional service to the state.

Those wishing to restore their Lithuanian citizenship will have to apply in writing to the countries Foreign Ministry or Lithuanian diplomatic agencies abroad and submit evidence that they or their parents had Lithuanian citizenship.

Government To Receive $20 Million Loan From South Korea

LD07[illegible]1293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius today received Lithuania's honorary consul in Korea, Kim Hong-Kun, and a delegation led by him. The consul said that he was ready to mediate in buying nuclear fuel for the Ignalina nuclear power station and that in the near future Lithuania would receive a credit from Korea amounting to about $20 million.

Possibilities of Korean consultants on energy, industry, and other spheres of economy arriving in Lithuania were discussed at the meeting.

Official on Treaties With Russia, Transit

WS0812123093 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 27 Nov 93 No. 231 p 5

[Article by Virgilijus Bulovas, head of Lithuania's state delegation for negotiations with Russia: "What Agreements Were Signed by Lithuania and Russia"]

[Text] A week has passed since the visit of Russian Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin to Lithuania, but emotions have not yet subsided. It is obvious that some politicians have the desire to cheaply accumulate political capital from this issue.

In fact, what happened? To make it short, we signed 10 documents. Expanding on this issue, I must tell the entire story, beginning with the activities of the former delegations. Not everything is publishable because our negotiations are not yet over, and too much openness would be damaging.

Our delegation for negotiations with Russia began its activities in April of this year. The key goal was the withdrawal of Russian troops in line with the schedule that had been signed between Russia and the previous delegation. This goal has been achieved—the Army was pulled out on time without signing an agreement. The future will show whether this was the best way of seeking this goal.

Both countries associated other related accords with this agreement. Russia pursued the same tactics in negotiations with the two other Baltic states.

Russia proposed to sign simultaneously an agreement on social guarantees for Russian military pensioners having permanent residence in Lithuania. Both the contents and the name of this agreement were changed several times during the negotiations. According to the agreement, Lithuania assumes the responsibility of paying pensions to military pensioners of the Russian Federation permanently residing in Lithuania despite their citizenship. Such pensioners will be treated at Lithuanian medical centers and accepted at institutions for old and disabled people. All expenses will be compensated by Russia.

Lithuania proposed signing an economic trade agreement, which would provide the most favored nation treatment for both sides. The essence of this agreement is the following: If the country has no trade privileges it must pay a customs duty on its exports, which in some cases accounts for 100 percent of the price. For example, Lithuanian goods would cost two times more in Russia. The most favored nation status reduces customs tariffs by half.

Another "legacy" that our delegation has inherited from its predecessors is the three-document agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany and their transit through Lithuania's territory.

Railway cars would be ferried from Mukran to Klaipeda by sea and then travel across Lithuania.

The withdrawal of Russian troops began in 1992. The agreement was drafted that same year, and it specifies the rules of transit, tariffs, and the parties' rights and commitments. Such ferrying and transit should end by late 1994. Thus far, Russia has settled its accounts satisfactorily.

A question may arise on whether this agreement was worth signing after the largest part of this transit had already been accomplished. In my opinion, we had to sign it earlier. First, the agreement confirms higher transit tariffs. Second, it clearly defines the parties' responsibility and cooperation in case of accidents or violations of the rules.

Four agreements were signed by the Ministry of Transport. All of them were coordinated (initialed) as far back as December 1992. I would like to remind everyone that our delegation discussed these agreements at its meetings some time ago. The agreement on air transport allows companies of both sides to fly over the territories of the two countries and use their airports, and it is not binding on military aviation.

The agreement on trade navigation deals with international transport by sea ships. The parties will grant the most favored nation treatment to freight and passenger ships at ports and to cargo services. The agreement on cooperation in the sphere of river transport defines the rules and conditions for the shipment and transit of cargoes and passengers in internal waters. The parties will grant to one another the most favored status in using ports and servicing ships. After this agreement becomes effective, our river ships will be able to sail to the Curonian Sea and farther west.

The agreement on international car transport defines the traffic and transit of cargoes and passengers by vehicles between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Lithuania. The transit of Russian cargoes and passages to Kaliningrad Oblast through Lithuania is regulated by special permits. Bilateral transport of cargoes and passengers between Kaliningrad and Lithuania requires no permit. After this agreement becomes valid, Lithuanian drivers will be able to use border crossings in Kaliningrad Oblast when travelling to West European countries.

The agreement between the Interior Ministries deals with cooperation in crime prevention.

I would also like to dwell on the concept that is now often used by politicians and in the mass media—the "military transit."

It is Lithuanian television that confused this concept for the first time by calling the agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany an agreement on military transit. After this mistake had been repeated on the screen by one top official, the opposition had enough "material."

What is the actual situation? The Russian delegation mentioned the necessity of such an agreement during a meeting in Nida. This desire was reiterated at a meeting between the Lithuanian and the Russian prime ministers.

Lithuania agreed that such an agreement was necessary, but it did not give any definite promises. The situation is very subtle—military transit has been conducted for many years, it is being conducted temporarily today, and I think that we will cope with it in the future. On the other hand, Lithuania has announced its intention to become a NATO member. Therefore, before signing this agreement, we will

have to decide under what conditions Lithuania can sign it. Certainly, we will also have to consult our close and more distant neighbors because the problem of the Kaliningrad Oblast's demilitarization is pressing not only to us. I wish our political opponents did not gamble on this issue or excite unnecessary emotions among the population. I wish they proposed options acceptable to Lithuania.

After the agreements come into effect, their texts will we publicized.